

The Directors of the East India Company,
1754-1790

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Ph.D.

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1977

ABSTRACT

For a century and a half before 1754 the East India Company had enjoyed a monopoly of English trade with the East. The Company, under the control of a Court of Directors drawn exclusively from London's mercantile and financial world, had steadfastly resisted any move on the part of its servants in India towards territorial acquisition, or political involvement, and had concentrated on the pursuit of its trade, based on its three main settlements, in Bombay, Madras and Fort William, in Bengal. However, the political instability in India accompanying the decline of the power of the centralised Mogul Empire, and the growing challenge of the Company's main European rivals, the French, in the mid-eighteenth century, forced the Company to take up arms to defend its position.

Consequently, with victories over the French in the south, and over Mogul power in Bengal, the Company, in the period from 1754 to 1790, underwent a transformation from the status of a purely commercial organisation in the sub-continent, to that of a political power with territorial responsibilities. This thesis sets out to discuss the men who became directors in the thirty-six years from 1754, how developments in the Company's situation in the East affected the composition of the Direction, and, conversely, how changes in the constituent elements of the Court influenced the Company's policies in the East; also, how the interests and factions in the Company, which the directors represented, altered in the period, with the consequences for the balance of power at East India House; and, finally, how well equipped were the directors of these

years to cope with the Company's changing role in the East; all questions of importance in this formative period, when directors of a commercial organisation struggled to deal with the problems of an increasingly political dominion.

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Bibliography.

SHORT TITLES AND ABBREVIATIONS

Add. MSS.	Additional Manuscripts
<u>Al. Ox.</u>	Joseph Foster, <u>Alumni Oxonienses ...</u> : Part 1 (Oxford, n.d.), 7 vols; Part 2 (Oxford, n.d.), 5 vols..
<u>Al. Camb.</u>	John and J.A. Venn, <u>Alumni Cantabrigienses ...</u> : Part 1 (Cambridge, 1922-1927), 4 vols.; Part 2 (Cambridge, 1940-1954), 6 vols..
<u>A.R.</u>	<u>Annual Register</u>
Auber	Peter Auber, <u>An Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company ...</u> (London, 1826).
<u>B.H.G.</u>	Burke's genealogical and heraldic <u>History of the landed Gentry</u> , ed. Peter Townend (London, 18th ed., 1965-1972), 3 vols..
<u>B.Ex.B.</u>	John and John B. Burke, <u>A genealogical and heraldic History of the extinct and dormant Baronetcies ...</u> (London, 2nd. ed., 1844).
<u>B.Ex.P.</u>	Sir Bernard Burke, <u>A genealogical History of the dormant ... and extinct Peerages ...</u> (London, 1883) (Facsimile ed. of 1962).
<u>B.Hist.C.</u>	John Burke, <u>A genealogical and heraldic History of the Commoners ...</u> (London, 1836), 4 vols..
<u>B.P.B.</u>	Burke's genealogical and heraldic <u>History of the Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage</u> , ed. Peter Townend (London, 105th. ed., 1970).
Barwell Letter-Book	'The Letters of Mr. Richard Barwell', <u>B.P.P.</u> , vols. 8-18 (1914-1919).
<u>Bengal Obituary</u>	<u>The Bengal Obituary ...</u> (Calcutta, 1848).
B.L.	British Library
Bod. Lib.	Bodleian Library
<u>B.P.P.</u>	<u>Bengal Past and Present</u>
<u>B.S.O.A.S.</u>	<u>Bulletin of the School of oriental and Asian Studies</u>
Colebrooke	Sir George Colebrooke, <u>Reminiscences ...</u> (London, 1898-1899), 2 vols..
Copeland	Thomas W. Copeland (ed.), <u>The Correspondence of Edmund Burke</u> (Cambridge, 1958-1967), 6 vols..

Cotton	Sir Henry Cotton, posth. (ed. Sir Charles Fawcett), <u>East Indiamen ...</u> (London, 1949).
Ct. Bk.	Court Book
Cussans	John E. Cussans, <u>History of Hertfordshire</u> (1972 ed., by Hertfordshire County Record Office), 3 vols..
Davies	A. Mervyn Davies, <u>Clive of Plassey ...</u> (London, 1939).
Dé	Barun Dé, 'Henry Dundas and the Government of India, (1773-1801). A Study in constitutional Ideas' (Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis 1961).
Dickson	Peter G.M. Dickson, <u>The Sun Insurance Office 1710-1960 ...</u> (London, 1960).
<u>D.N.B.</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography</u>
Dodwell (1)	Henry Dodwell, <u>A Calendar of the Madras Despatches ...</u> (Madras, 1920).
Dodwell (2)	Henry Dodwell, <u>A Calendar of the Madras Records ...</u> (Madras, 1917).
Donne	W. Bodham Donne, <u>The Correspondence of King George ... with Lord North ...</u> (London, 1867), 2 vols..
Douglas	Sir Robert Douglas, <u>The Baronetage of Scotland ...</u> (Edinburgh, 1798).
Du Cane	Lt. Col. Edmund F. Du Cane, <u>Some Account of the Family of Du Quesne ...</u> (London, 1876).
Essex Rec. Off.	Essex County Record Office
<u>E.H.R.</u>	<u>English Historical Review</u>
<u>E.U.L.</u>	Edinburgh University Library
Forrest	Sir George Forrest, <u>The Life of Lord Clive</u> (London, 1918), 2 vols..
Fortescue	Sir John Fortescue, <u>The Correspondence of King George the third</u> (London, 1927-1928), 6 vols..
<u>Fort William-India House Correspondence</u>	See bibliography, under Indian Records Series.
Fulford	Roger Fulford, <u>Glyn's 1753-1953...</u> (London, 1953).
Furber (1)	Holden Furber, 'The East India Directors, 1784', <u>Journal of Modern History</u> , vol. 5 (1933), pp. 479-495.
Furber (2)	Holden Furber, <u>John Company at Work ...</u> (Cambridge (U.S.A.), 1948).

<u>G.E.C.</u>	G.E. C [-ockayne] (ed.), <u>Complete Baronetage</u> (Exeter, 1900-1909), 6 vols..
Genl.Ct. Mins.	General Court Minutes
Gill	Conrad Gill, <u>Merchants and Mariners of the eighteenth Century</u> (London, 1961).
Gleig	George R. Gleig, <u>Memoirs of the Life of ... Warren Hastings ...</u> (London, 1841), 3 vols..
<u>G.M.</u>	<u>Gentleman's Magazine</u>
Green and Wigram	Henry Green and Robert Wigram, <u>Chronicles of Blackwall Yard ...</u> (London, 1881).
Gurney	J.D. Gurney, 'The Debts of the Nawab of Arcot, 1763-1776' (Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis 1968).
Hardy (1)	Charles Hardy, <u>A Register of Ships ... from 1707 ... to the present Time</u> (London, 1799).
Hardy (2)	<u>Hardy's Register of Ships, 1760-1833</u> (? , n.d.).
Herts Rec. Off.	Hertfordshire County Record Office
Hist. MSS. Comm.	Historical Manuscripts Commission
Hodson	Major V.C.P. Hodson, <u>Officers of the Bengal Army, 1758-1854</u> (London, 1927-1947), 4 vols..
Holzman	James M. Holzman, <u>The Nabobs in England ...</u> (New York, 1926).
Holwell	Zephaniah Holwell, <u>Important Facts regarding the East-India Company's in Bengal ...</u> (London, 1764).
Home Misc. Ser.	Home Miscellaneous Series
<u>Hug. Soc. Proc.</u>	<u>Huguenot Society Proceedings</u>
I.O.L.	India Office Library and Records
Jewers	Arthur John Jewers, <u>The monumental Inscriptions ... within the City of London</u> (London, 1910-1919), 4 vols..
Jucker	Ninetta Jucker (ed.), <u>The Jenkinson Papers ...</u> (London, 1949).
A.M. Khan	Abdul Majed Khan, 'Muhammed Reza Khan, Naib Nazim and Naib Diwan of Bengal, 1765-1775' (London Univ. Ph.D. thesis 1966)
Lee	Grace L. Lee, <u>The Story of the Bosanquets</u> (Canterbury, 1966).
Lewis	See bibliography, under Lewis, W.S., Smith, W.H. and Lam, G.L., <u>et alia</u> .

<u>L.M.</u>	<u>London Magazine</u>
Maclean	James N.M. Maclean, <u>Reward is Secondary ...</u> (London, 1963).
Mar. Rec. Cat.	Catalogue of Marine Records, India Office Library and Records.
Mar. Misc.	Marine Miscellaneous
MSS. Eur.	European Manuscripts
Malcolm	Sir John Malcolm, <u>The Life of Robert, Lord Clive ...</u> (London, 1836), 3 vols..
Morse	Hosea B. Morse, <u>The Chronicles of the East India Company trading to China ...</u> (Oxford, 1926), 4 vols..
Musgrave	Sir William Musgrave, <u>Obituary ...</u> (London, 1899-1901), 6 vols..
Namier and Brooke	Sir Lewis B. Namier and John Brooke (edd.), <u>The House of Commons, 1754-1790</u> (London, 1964), 3 vols..
N.L.S.	National Library of Scotland
N.L.W.	National Library of Wales
Olson	Alison G. Olson, <u>The radical Duke ...</u> (London, 1961).
<u>P.A.</u>	<u>Public Advertiser</u>
Philips (1)	Cyril H. Philips, <u>The East India Company, 1784-1834</u> (Manchester, 3rd. ed., 1968).
Philips (2)	Cyril H. and D.H. Philips, 'Alphabetical List ...', <u>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</u> , (1941), pp. 325-336.
Philips (3)	Cyril H. Philips, <u>The Correspondence of David Scott ...</u> (London, 1951), 2 vols., Camden Series, 3rd. ser., vol. 75.
P.C.C.	Prerogative Court of Canterbury
Price	F.G. Hilton Price, <u>Handbook of London Bankers ...</u> (London, 1876).
P.R.O.	Public Record Office
Sedgwick	Romney Sedgwick (ed.), <u>The House of Commons 1715-1754</u> (London, 1970), 2 vols..
Shearer	Thompson Shearer, 'Crisis and Change in the Development of the East India Company's Affairs, 1760-1773' (Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis 1976).
<u>S.M.</u>	<u>Scots Magazine</u>
<u>S.P.</u>	<u>The Scots Peerage</u> , ed. Sir James Balfour Paul (Edinburgh, 1904-1914), 9 vols..

S.R.O.	Scottish Record Office
Sutherland (1)	Lucy S. Sutherland, <u>The East India Company in eighteenth Century Politics</u> (Oxford, 2nd. ed., 1962).
Sutherland (2)	Lucy S. Sutherland, <u>A London Merchant</u> (London, 2nd. ed., 1962).
Sutherland (3)	Lucy S. Sutherland, 'Lord Shelburne and East India Company Politics, 1766-9', <u>E.H.R.</u> , vol. 49 (1934), pp. 450-486.
Tam. Nad. Arch.	Tamil Nadu Archives
Tomlinson	John R.G. Tomlinson (ed.), <u>Additional Grenville Papers ...</u> (Manchester, 1962).
Wilson	Charles Wilson, <u>Anglo-Dutch Commerce and Finance in the eighteenth Century</u> (Cambridge, 1941).
Wissett	Robert Wissett, <u>A Compendium of East India Affairs ...</u> (London, 1802).

MISCELLANEOUS

- * deputy chairman
- ** chairman
- *** deputy chairman appointed chairman in the course of the year.

b.	born	o.	only
bro.	brother	poss.	possible
coh.	co-heir/co-heiress	prob.	probable
cr.Bt.	created Baronet	rel.	relative
d.	died	sis.	sister
da.	daughter	s.	son
eld.	eldest	succ.	succeeded
h.	heir/heiress	unm.	unmarried
m.	married	w.	wife
		wid.	widow

PREFACE

The idea of a corporate biographical study of the directors of the East India Company in the period, 1754 to 1790, was suggested by the work of Professor Lewis Namier and John Brooke on the lives and careers of Members of Parliament in the same period,¹ which stands as a basic reference book for any student of British politics in the second half of the eighteenth century. It was felt that a similar, and parallel, study of the East India directors might not only complement the work of Namier and Brooke, but might hope also to provide basic material for students of Company history in this, the formative period of the British empire in India, in the development of which the directors, standing at the hub of the rapidly expanding Company dominion in the East, played a crucial part.

Besides the parallel with Namier and Brooke, a study of the Company directors in this specific period can be justified by developments in the Company, and in the British situation in the East during these years. In India, the period begins before the start of the Seven Years War, in which the Company was finally to overcome its main European rival, France, and to consolidate its position in the south east of the sub-continent around Madras. In Bengal, too, the British position was to alter dramatically in the late 'fifties, with the Battle of Plassey establishing the Company as a political power, now

1. Sir Lewis Namier and John Brooke, (edd.), The House of Commons, 1754-1790 (London, 1964), 3 vols..

stronger than the local representative of Mogul power, the Nawab, on whose good will the Company's servants had been traditionally dependent for permission to carry on their trade from their settlement at Fort William. Further steps were taken in the period towards the assumption of full governing power by the Company, with the taking over of the Bengal revenues in the mid-1760's by Robert Clive, though retaining the pretence of the Nawab's power by allowing his officials to collect them. Under the first governor-general, Warren Hastings, the Company removed this last vestige of Mogul power, administration was improved, and territories extended, until, by 1790, under Lord Cornwallis, the idea of an administrative service, distinct from the Company's commercial concerns, was put into practice, anticipating the Indian Civil Service of the next century, and so concluding a period of thirty years during which the whole concept of the Company's, and the British, role in the East had undergone a transformation, and had set the pattern for the British India of the Victorian era.

At home, also, the face of the Company changed with developments in the Company's situation in India, affecting the composition of the Court of Directors, the balance of power within the Company, and relations with the State, all of which trends will be noted in the studies of the individual directors, and will be examined in the later, general chapters. It is significant also that the period from the mid-1750's to the late 1780's coincides with the career of the greatest director of the era, Laurence Sullivan (q.v.), chairman on four occasions, and whose guiding hand carried

the Company through the difficult years of transition in the late 1750's and early 1760's, and whose attempts to recover power in the Direction after his fall in 1765 had a crucial bearing on the course of Company affairs in subsequent decades, and who, even in the years before his death in 1786, despite increased Government control over the directors, was still regarded as the single-most powerful figure in the Company Directorate.

With the exception of the most prominent directors, who were important in Company affairs, or in national politics, the majority of directors have remained obscure figures, though a greater knowledge of the backgrounds from which they came, and of the interests which they represented at East India House, could contribute to a better understanding of the changes taking place in the Company in these years, and the reasons behind them. Existing published lists of directors, which include their lengths of service, and occasional biographical information, are of limited value because of the inaccuracies which they contain. An 'Alphabetical List of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England ... otherwise entitled the East India Company, from 1708 to 1858',¹ though potentially useful by virtue of its coverage of the whole period from the formation of the united Company in 1708, to its demise in 1858, is guilty of many errors. Besides numerous mistakes in the lengths of service of individual directors, a number of

1. Charles C. Prinsep, Records of Services of ... Servants in the Madras Presidency, 1741-1858 (London, 1885), Appendix.

directors, such as Richard Atkinson and Robert Jones (qq.v.), have been omitted, and certain fictitious individuals, such as Joseph Bosanquet, included in the list. This was recognised in a more recent attempt to provide tabulated information on the East India directors in this era,¹ which, while offering reliable figures for the directors' years of service, includes a number of inaccuracies in their dates of death, as in the case of Edmund Boehm and Thomas Parry (qq.v.), where the former is confused with his father. Errors appearing in other works on contemporary Company history will be noted under the director concerned.

Though the basic format employed by Namier and Brooke in their study of individual Members of Parliament has been adopted, certain changes have been made to better suit the context of the East India directors. Since it was felt important to consider every director in the period, so that a fuller picture might be achieved of the composition, and relative strength, of the various classifications of director, it has been necessary to limit the space allocated to each. Consequently, while the practice of placing foot-notes after each directors has been adopted, in the style of Namier and Brooke, it was felt advisable to provide fuller references to facilitate any future research into the lives of particular directors.²

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1. Cyril H. and D.H. Philips, 'Alphabetical List of the Directors of the East India Company from 1758 to 1858', Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1941), pp. 325-336.
 2. One of the few criticisms of Namier and Brooks might be with regard to the conciseness, and consequent obscurity, of the foot-notes, particularly in the biographical section of their work on the House of Commons.

The amount of space allocated to each character has been determined primarily by his importance as a director, and by his length of service in the Court, though, in a few cases, it was felt necessary to pay extra attention to figures whose service as directors was limited, but whose importance in Company affairs generally, as proprietors of stock, such as George Dempster or George Johnstone (qq.v.), or as governors of Company settlements in India, such as Sir Thomas Rumbold or Henry Vansittart (qq.v.), merited special consideration. By concentrating on the East India Company aspects of the directors' lives it is hoped that repetition will be avoided in the case of those directors who were also Members of Parliament, and have been studied with regard to their careers in the House of Commons by Namier and Brooke. More time has been devoted to providing detail about the early careers of the directors, particularly those who had spent part of their lives in the East as Company servants, independent merchants or commanders of East Indiamen, than in the parallel biographies of Members of Parliament. It was felt that the careers of such directors could only be fully understood by an awareness of the nature of their activities in the East, and the connections they formed there, since such considerations determined to a great extent their political standpoints on their return to England.

Furthermore, unlike Namier and Brooke, the general, or analytical, chapters have been placed after the corporate biographical study of the directors. Though this has certain disadvantages, since the general sections provide background material to amplify events discussed in the individual

biographies, it was felt that the analysis of the various classes of director could only be fully appreciated after a study of the directors involved. Though some background history has been provided in the general chapters, as in the case of the development of the Company's shipping bloc,¹ it has been necessary to assume on the part of the reader a general knowledge of Company history in the period, in order to allow sufficient space for the treatment of the one hundred and thirty-eight directors in the period, and their various classifications.²

The general chapters deal with the largest, and most influential, interests, or factions, to be represented in the Direction during this period, and are preceded by a section tracing the origins of the Court of Directors, and its place in the Company's administration. While directors of a City background appear throughout the period, it was felt that more space should be devoted to such mercantile and financial elements of the Direction in the pre-Plassey years, thereby providing, in Chapter 2, a picture of the composition of the Directorate before the 'classic' period of Company history, not only to contrast the constituent elements of the Direction in these years with the later period, but also to throw light on a period of domestic Company history which has hitherto been little studied. Chapters

1. C.f. Chapter 4, part 1.

2. Such background knowledge is provided by the following standard works on Company history: Lucy S. Sutherland, The East India Company in eighteenth Century British Politics (Oxford, 2nd. ed., 1962); Cyril H. Philips, The East India Company, 1784-1834 (Manchester, 3rd. ed., 1968).

3 and 4 discuss two of the most influential interests of the period: the 'East Indian' element of the Court, composed of the growing number of Company servants and 'free' merchants returning to England in this period; and the shipping bloc, the most powerful Company monopoly, with a tradition of strong representation in the Direction, and whose constituent elements could unite to determine the course of Company elections. Chapter 5 considers the development of Government involvement in Company affairs, and the types of director who came to represent the various Ministries of the period in the Court. In conclusion, chapter 6 touches on some of the more general, and less tangible, aspects of the directors' management of the Company, considering their attitudes to India, and the Company's role there, and how well they were equipped to deal with the Company's growing responsibilities.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to my supervisors, Dr. James N.M. Maclean, B.Litt., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S., Senior Lecturer, and Professor (Emeritus) V.G. Kiernan, M.A., both of the Department of History, Edinburgh University, for their guidance and patience while I was writing this thesis. I am also indebted to the University of Edinburgh for the award of a 3-year Vans Dunlop Scholarship, which enabled me to pursue my research full-time.

My thanks are also due to the following for their assistance in my research into the lives of the East India Directors:- Dr. Ole Feldbaek, Institute of Economic History, Copenhagen University; T.V.H. Fitzhugh, Esq., of Ottershaw, Surrey; Professor Holden Furber, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., late of Pennsylvania University; George K. M^CGilvary, Esq., M.A., Dip.Ed., Senior Lecturer in Liberal Studies, Stevenson College of Further Education, Sighthill, Edinburgh; E.L.C. Mullins, Esq., O.B.E., M.A., Secretary to the Editorial Board, The History of Parliament Trust; M.M. Stuart, Esq., C.I.E., O.B.E., M.A., of Pilmuir Old Manse, Haddington; and L.M. Vasagam, Esq., I.A.S., Commissioner of Tamil Nadu Archives.

I am most grateful to the following for permission to consult papers in their possession:- His Grace the 10th. Duke of Grafton, for permission to consult the papers of his predecessor, Augustus Henry Fitzroy, 3rd. Duke of Grafton, which are now housed with Suffolk County Record Office; The Most Honourable the 6th. Marquess of Bute, and his archivist, Miss Catherine Armet, M.A., for permission to examine the papers of John Stuart, 3rd. Earl of Bute, housed at Mountstuart,

Isle of Bute; B.H. Farmer, Esq., M.A., F.R.G.S., Director of the Centre of South Asian Studies, Cambridge University, and his principal archivist, Miss Mary Thatcher, for permission to consult various papers in their custody; the Huguenot Society of London, and Mrs. Joyce Wheatley, F.L.A., research assistant, for permission to consult the Society's record collection, housed with the Huguenot Library, University College, London; the Hon. Victor E.P. Montagu, of Mapperton, Dorset, for permission to consult the papers of his predecessor, John Montagu, 4th. Earl of Sandwich, temporarily in the care of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, London; Colin Osborne, Esq., Public Relations Officer, Trinity House, and Miss Fiona Gillespie, archivist, for providing copies of records held in the library of Trinity House, Tower Hill, London; D.J. Walker, Esq., Secretary, and J.C. Luxmoore, Esq., Assistant Secretary, for permission to consult records from the Baltic Exchange Archive, St. Mary Axe, London.

My thanks are also due to the staffs of the following libraries and record offices:- Berkshire County Record Office, Reading; British Library, London; Central Library, Sheffield; Bodleian Library, Oxford University; Edinburgh University Library; Essex County Record Office, Chelmsford; Gemeentelyke Archiefdienst van Amsterdam; Guildhall Library, London; Hertfordshire County Record Office, Hertford; Historical Manuscripts Commission, London; Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California; India Office Library and Records, London; Maharashtra State Archives, Bombay; National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh; National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth; North Yorkshire Record Office, Northallerton;

Public Record Office, London; Scottish Record Office,
Edinburgh; Society of Genealogists, London; Suffolk County
Record Office, Bury St. Edmunds; Tamil Nadu Archives,
Madras.

Finally, I would like to thank my wife, Ann, for her
patience while I researched, and wrote, this thesis, and for
her help in compiling the appendices.

Needless to say, responsibility for any errors occurring
in this thesis is entirely my own.

SECTION 1

Corporate Biography of the Directors of
the East India Company, 1754-1790,
arranged in alphabetical Order.

AMYAND, Sir George (1720-1766)

of Laurence Pountney Hill, London and of Carshalton, Surrey.

Director of the East India Company 1760, 1763.

b., 26 Septr. 1720, 2nd. s. of Claudius Amyand, merchant of Hamburg; educ. at Westminster, 1729-35; m., 9 April 1746, Anna Maria, da. of John Abraham Corteen, merchant of Hamburg; 2s. 2da.; cr. Bt., 9 Augt. 1764.

M.P. for Barnstaple 1754-16 Augt. 1766.

Assistant to the Russia Company 1756.¹

Amyand was a partner in the firms of Amyand and Rucker, merchants, and of Amyand, Staples and Mercer, bankers.² In addition to contracts held during the Seven Years War, he subscribed to Government loans of the period, notably that of 1759. Much of his share was disposed of to Dutch financiers for whom he acted as agent.³

He became an East India director in 1760, but had dealt with the Company in the past in his capacity as London representative of the Emden East India Company.⁴ As a Member of Parliament and a Government contractor, his political affiliations were to the Duke of Newcastle, for whom he acted as intermediary with Laurence Sullivan.⁵ Sullivan described Amyand as a 'good friend' in 1762,⁶ and Amyand's Dutch contacts were exploited by Sullivan's party before the Company election of April 1763, when Adriaan Hope of Amsterdam provided him with £11,000 East India stock for 'splitting' among supporters.⁷ Amyand stood successfully on Sullivan's 'list'.⁸

His allegiances were shown to have changed dramatically when, in March 1764, 'as if by inspiration',⁹ he proposed Robert Clive as next governor of Bengal at a meeting of the General Court. He was believed to have quarrelled with Sullivan,¹⁰ signs of which had been evident in February, when he had opposed

Sullivan in the Direction.¹¹ Amyand's political ties were increasingly with the new head of the Administration, George Grenville, the friend of Clive. Amyand retained his remittance contracts under Grenville, and became a close financial adviser.¹²

His advocacy of Clive for the Bengal government was the result of plans carefully co-ordinated with Grenville's managers, Jenkinson and Salvador.¹³ Amyand was offered the office of Company chairman, if Sullivan could be defeated in April, but he declined on the advice of Grenville.¹⁴

He died on 1 April 1766.¹⁵

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1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 20.
 2. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 20.
 3. Wilson, pp. 160-161.
 4. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 20; I.O.L., Ct. Bks., B/74, p. 633; B/75, p. 129.
 5. B.L., Add. MSS., 32935, f. 158: Laurence Sullivan to Lord Newcastle, 2 March 1762.
 6. B.L., Add. MSS., 32935, f. 158: Laurence Sullivan to Lord Newcastle, 2 March 1762.
 7. Sutherland (3), p. 458, n. 1.
 8. G.M., vol. 33 (1763), p. 199.
 9. Quoted in Sutherland (1), p. 125.
 10. Horace Walpole, (ed.) G.F. Russell Barker, Memoirs of the Reign of King George the third (London, 1894), vol. 1, p. 310.
 11. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/79, p. 302.
 12. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 21.
 13. Sutherland (1), pp. 118-120.
 14. Jucker, p. 270: Joseph Salvador to Charles Jenkinson, 6 March 1764.
 15. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 21.

ASTELL, William Thornton

Vide THORNTON-ASTELL, William

ATKINSON, Richard (1738-1785)

of Fenchurch Street, London.

Director of the East India Company Jany. 1784-May 1785.

b., 6 March 1738, 3rd. s. of Mathew Atkinson, of Temple Sowerby, Westmorland, by Margaret, da, of Richard Sutton, of Kirkby Lonsdale; unm..

M.P. for New Romney 14 June 1784-28 March 1785.¹

Although only a Company director for two years, Atkinson played a significant part in Company politics during the North Administration, and in the period leading up to the establishment of the Pitt Ministry. During the American War he held lucrative contracts from the Government for the supply of rum to the army.² It was therefore not unnatural that, as a proprietor of East India stock, he should support the Government in the General Court. As early as 1773 he qualified for this purpose,³ and stood by the Ministry in 1776 over the question of Hastings's recall, and in 1777 over the restoration of George Pigot to the government of Madras.⁴

Atkinson had also more personal interests in Company affairs. He had shares in Company shipping,⁵ and took part in debates on shipping matters.⁶ He became involved with the notorious 'nabob', Paul Benfield, creditor of the Nawab of Arcot, and whose reinstatement to the Company's Madras service Atkinson helped to secure in January 1781.⁷ He became Benfield's London agent, and in this way formed an association with James Macpherson, the Nawab's representative in England. By September 1782 Macpherson was writing confidentially to him on the subject of the debts.⁸ It has been suggested that Atkinson's eventual desertion of North was due to the inclusion in the terms of Fox's India Bill of provisions for investigating the legality of the Nawab's debts.⁹ Macpherson's correspondence with Hastings, however, points to an earlier date

for his moving away from the Fox-North Government, and towards the friends of Macpherson in the Hastings camp within the Company, and in the party forming round the emerging William Pitt. Macpherson explained in April 1782 to Hastings 'how much we all owe, in these disagreeable times, to the ability, friendship and exertions of M^r. Atkinson. I have mentioned in another letter, the great talents and extensive influence of the gentleman; and how happy I was to find that he is inclined to employ both, against the current of injustice and proscription, which now prevails here, against our Eastern friends'.¹⁰ Atkinson was prominent in organising the General Court which rejected any attempt of the House of Commons to remove Hastings in May 1782.¹¹

By the end of 1783 he had been chosen for the committee set up to defend the Company against Fox's proposed India legislation, and, with the absence of George Johnstone (q.v.), became acting chairman. With his personal friend, and fellow-convert to Pitt's cause, John Robinson, he conducted a canvas of opinion in the House of Lords, advising the lords that any support given to Fox's Bill would be against the King's wishes. When the Bill failed, prominent adherents of Fox in the Direction felt obliged to resign, and Atkinson was one of three new directors swept into office by the tide of public opinion against Fox within the Company.

He continued to act in intimacy with Robinson, and to advise Henry Dundas, now at the Board of Control, on the political management of the Direction. He presented Dundas with schemes designed to reform the domestic administration of the Company, and to ensure the continuance of a Ministerial majority in the Direction.¹² He told Dundas:

I have not one personal View in the power of the Company

to gratify, but I confess myself sufficiently interested in the success of a Reform in the introductory steps to which I have taken so forward a part, to make what I really deem a great sacrifice to it, by taking upon me a Task which it so happens that at the present moment there is not another Man upon earth in a situation to undertake. 13

However, he continued to represent the interests of the 'Arcot' group in opposing Dundas's efforts to investigate the legality of the Nawab's debts.¹⁴ Similarly, it was for personal reasons that he advocated a weakening of the Company's monopoly of trade in the East, to benefit his many associates in private trading firms.¹⁵

There was no doubt that once the new Ministry had been established securely, Atkinson over-estimated his importance to Pitt in India affairs. Control of the Company was to be in the hands of Henry Dundas, who chose to ignore Atkinson's schemes for reform. It was evident too that he had not long to live, as a result of the consumption from which he suffered.

He died on 28 May 1785.¹⁶

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1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 32.
 2. Baker, p. 162 seq.
 3. Sutherland (1), pp. 275-276, and n. 2.
 4. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/259, pp. 206, 232-233.
 5. Atkinson was involved in the ownership and management of the Besborough Indiaman (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/92, p. 374; Hardy (1), pp. 76, 88).
 6. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/259, p. 87.
 7. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/260, p. 42; Sutherland (1), p. 350. For Benfield's career, c.f. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 81).
 8. I.O.L., Home Misc. Ser., 106, pp. 1-4: James Macpherson to Richard Atkinson, 3 Sept. 1782.
 9. Cyril H. Philips, 'The New East India Board and the Court of Directors, 1784', E.H.R., vol. 55 (1940), p. 438.
 10. B.L., Add. MSS., 29154, f. 134: James Macpherson to Warren Hastings, 22 April 1782.
 11. Sutherland (1), p. 385.

12. Cyril H. Philips, 'The New East India Board and the Court of Directors, 1784', E.H.R., vol. 55 (1940), pp. 441-444: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, c. June 1784; Furber (1), pp. 482-495: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 27 July 1784, and 31 Jan. 1785.
13. Furber (1), p. 488: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 22 July 1784.
14. Philips (1), pp. 37-38.
15. De, pp. 245-247.
16. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 32.

BARING, Sir Francis (1740-1810)

of Mincing Lane, London.

Director of the East India Company 1779-82, 1784-87, 1789-91*-92**,
1794-97, 1799-1802, 1804-07,
1809-10.

b., 18 April 1740, 3rd. s. of John Baring, of Larkbear,
Devon; m., 12 May 1767, Harriet, da. and coh. of William
Herring, of Croydon, Surrey; 5s. 5da.; cr. Bt., 29 May
1793.

M.P. for Grampound 1784-90; Chipping Wycombe 1 Feby. 1794-1796;
Calne 1796-1802; Chipping Wycombe 1802-06.

Director of the Royal Exchange Assurance Company 1772-80.¹

Baring set up in business with his brother John in London in 1763. He dealt to a small extent in East India stock, retaining sufficient to qualify as a proprietor.² By 1779, he had considerably expanded his business, and had become a merchant of some standing in England, and on the Continent.

Following his election to the East India Direction, he rose to prominence among the City members of that body. An expert in financial matters, he brought his expertise to bear on Company affairs. In April 1781 he was against a motion to allow Richard Barwell to remit through the Company large sums of money to England. Baring felt that such practice would set dangerous precedents, and had

almost ruined the Company.³

His position as regards Barwell was dictated by his views on the Company's financial position. In the matter of his attitude to Barwell's friend, Warren Hastings, it was felt that he might be won over by the governor-general's taking an interest in one of his protégés in Bengal.⁴ Baring's growing association with Lord Shelburne, particularly when the latter became First Lord of the Treasury in 1782, helped make him more favourably disposed to Hastings. Shelburne's Parliamentary aide, John Dunning, Baring's brother-in-law, was also the 'special patron' of Hastings's colleague, Sir Elijah Impey, Chief Justice in Bengal.⁵

Baring began to take an active part in the movement to protect Hastings from attempts to engineer his recall. John Scott, Hastings's agent, reported to him in June 1782:

Gregory [q.v.] had made a sore hand of it - M^r Bensley [q.v.] and M^r Baring a Brother in Law to Lord Ashburton with whom I daily Communicate, have beat him from every Ground that he has yet Brought forward 6

However, he surprised Hastings's followers by refusing to condone a General Court resolution revoking the directors' earlier condemnation of Hastings's handling of the Maratha War.⁷

With Shelburne at the Treasury, Baring became his close financial adviser, helping him to reorganise the Government's system of contracting.⁸ He became leader of the City group of directors, and his metropolitan interests brought him into contact with Richard Atkinson (q.v.). On the fall of the Ministry, he joined his fellow-Shelburnite, Nathaniel Smith (q.v.), in opposing the Fox-North Coalition, and in co-operating with those involved in opposition to Fox's India Bill. He entered Parliament in 1784 as Pitt's candidate, and was elected to the Direction as a nominee of the

coalition of forces within the Company which had helped to overthrow Fox's Bill.⁹

Atkinson's report to Dundas on the state of party allegiances in the Direction in 1784 indicated that at least eight directors were allies of Baring.¹⁰ His influence among the directors, and his support for Pitt, meant that he was drawn into Atkinson's schemes to ensure Ministerial control of the Directorate. He was opposed to any attempt to court Sullivan, leader of the 'East Indian' group among the directors. Atkinson wrote:

In this view Mr. Baring positively refuses to serve as Deputy Chairman with Mr. Sullivan whom he dares not trust as a colleague in so responsible a situation & with whose propensity to Job and Artifice he is convinced he should publicly quarrel. 11

Baring and Sullivan both competed for the deputy chair in 1785, but were defeated, Dundas preferring to give his backing to the existing chairs.¹²

In matters of Company financial policy Baring was consulted by Pitt and Dundas, particularly in schemes to reduce the Company's Indian debt. In political matters he remained on close terms with Shelburne, now Lord Lansdowne. He questioned the logic of Dundas's Declaratory Bill, in its treatment of the Company, while Lansdowne opposed it in the Lords.¹³ With the split in the ranks of the 'East Indians' after Sullivan's death, the City group, in conjunction with the shipping interest, became the strongest single party in the Direction, though Baring was on bad terms with its other leader, Devaynes (q.v.).¹⁴ In general, Baring could be relied on to follow Dundas's line, as before the 1789 election, when he expressed his willingness to 'vote for what the Administration wished'.¹⁵

With David Scott (q.v.) he lent an ear to plans to solve the Company's debt problem involving co-operation with 'free merchants' in India.¹⁶ Similarly, he agreed with Dundas's plans to re-open Indian trade to a rejuvenated French East India Company, despite the fears of Hastings and others about the potential threat of French political activity in the subcontinent.¹⁷

He died on 12 September 1810, 'unquestionably the first merchant in Europe, first in knowledge and talents, and first in character and opulence'.¹⁸

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1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 47.
 2. I.O.L., Stock Ledgers, L/AG/14/5/13, p. 39; L/AG/14/5/14, p. 47. Baring took up a stock qualification in Feby. 1765 from Charles Foulis, ship's husband, and ally of Sullivan.
 3. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/96, p. 287.
 4. B.L., Add. MSS., 29149, f. 173: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 2 June 1781.
 5. Sutherland (1), p. 377. As late as Jany. 1782, however, Baring was objecting to the tardity of the Court in despatching Impey's removal from his post as Judge of the 'Sudder Dewannee Adawlet' (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/97, p. 565).
 6. B.L., Add. MSS., 29154, f. 352: John Scott to Warren Hastings, 21 June 1782.
 7. B.L., Add. MSS., 29157, f. 361^v: John Scott to Warren Hastings, 5 Novr. 1782.
 8. Baker, p. 135 seq.
 9. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 47; Philips (1), pp. 29-30.
 10. Furber (1), pp. 482-495: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 22 July 1784, and 31 Jany. 1785.
 11. Furber (1), p. 488: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 22 July 1784.
 12. Philips (1), p. 44.
 13. Philips (1), p. 57; Auber, p. 441.
 14. Philips, p. 62.
 15. S.R.O., MS. GD/51/3/15, ff. 39-39^v: David Scott to Henry Dundas, 9 April 1789.
 16. Hist. MSS. Comm. Dropmore, vol. 1, pp. 497-498: Henry Dundas to W.W. Grenville, 27 Augt. 1789 (enclosure, Francis Baring

to Henry Dundas); p. 510: W.W. Grenville to Henry Dundas,
14 Sept. 1789.

17. Furber (2), p. 36; Philips (1), pp. 48-49.

18. G.M., vol. 80, pt. 1 (1810), p. 293.

BARON, Christopher (? -1767)¹

of Southampton Street, the Strand, London.

Director of the East India Company 1759, 1761-64, 1766-67.

unm.²

Baron's early career was spent in the Company marine service. He commanded the Winchelsea Indiaman from 1744 to 1755,³ and formed connections with prominent ship-owners and husbands in London, notably Thomas Hall and Abraham Hume. Baron corresponded regularly with Hall during his trips to India.⁴ He seems also to have had interests in the Jewish mercantile world, proposing, and standing surety for, one Samuel Oliver, a 'free merchant', in 1751,⁵ and dealing with Jewish brokers when he began buying East India stock in 1757.⁶

His main interests undoubtedly continued to be in East India shipping. On election to the Direction in 1759, he was chosen for the Shipping Committee, and served on it in every year of his directorship. Though 'double-listed' in the elections of 1763,⁷ and 1764,⁸ his inclinations seem to have been towards the Clive camp. He received back £500 stock from the stock-dealer, John Calcraft, who had been 'splitting' for Clive, after the 1763 election,⁹ and, in January 1764, his niece, Barbara Baron, received a similar qualification from the husband, John Durand,¹⁰ an ally of Clive.

As a director he protested at the reversal of the decision not to allow Sullivan's friend, Robert Palk, governor of Madras, commission on the Madras revenues.¹¹ Again, in May 1767, he objected to attempts of elements of the General Court to force through an unexpected motion that Sullivan's terms for the charter between the Company and the Ministry be presented to Parliament.¹²

He died about November 1767.

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1. Note of Baron's death does not appear in Musgrave. The date of Novr. 1767 is taken from Philips (2), p. 327.
 2. His will mentions a niece, Barbara Baron, his executrix, to whom he left much of his property (P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/934, f. 435 (1767): Will of Christopher Baron).
 3. I.O.L., Mar. Rec. Cat., pp. 30, 32, 35.
 4. P.R.O., Chancery Masters Exhibits, C111/95-96: Papers of Thomas Hall.
 5. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/71, pp. 454, 558.
 6. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/12, p. 37.
 7. G.M., vol. 33 (1763), p. 199.
 8. L.M., vol. 33 (1764), p. 215.
 9. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/13, p. 112.
 10. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/14, p. 42.
 11. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/80, p. 443.
 12. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/257, pp. 91-92.
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BARRINGTON, Sir Fitzwilliams (1708-1792)

of Great James Street, London and of Swainstown, Isle of Wight.
 Director of the East India Company 1759, 1761-62, 1765-67.

b., 1708, s. of Sir John Barrington, 6th. Bt., of Swainstown, and of Hitchin, Hertfordshire, by Susan, da. of George Draper, of Hitchin; m. (1), 1741, Sarah, da. and sole heiress of Thomas Meades, captain in the R.N. (d.v.p.); (2), 1750, Jane, da. of Mathew Hall; 2s. 1da.; succ. to baronetcy on d. of bro., Sir John Barrington, 4 May 1776. 1

Sheriff of Hertfordshire 1754.²

Barrington's family held considerable political interest in the Isle of Wight. His brother, Sir John, and his son, both sat in Parliament for Newtown, Isle of Wight, the former throughout Barrington's period as a director.³ Barrington had established himself as a London merchant by 1738, when he was listed as a Blackwell Hall factor.⁴ He seems thus to have been connected with the section of the Direction involved in supplying the Company with cloth for export. His brother, Charles, had been a Company servant in Madras from 1721,⁵ and his legal disputes with the authorities there Barrington inherited on his death.⁶

Little is known of his political standpoint in the first years of his directorship, but he may have been influenced by his brother, who voted with the Parliamentary Opposition against Bute in December 1762.⁷ In both the 1763, and 1764, Company elections, Barrington stood on 'lists' opposed to Sullivan, but was defeated on both occasions.⁸ His steadfastness in support of Clive's party paid dividends when he was elected on the 'House list' in April 1765.⁹

During his dispute in Bengal with Governor Verelst (q.v.), Colonel Richard Smith felt that Barrington, and other directors generally well-disposed to Clive, were potential allies.¹⁰ In May 1767 he was still supporting the ruling majority in the

Direction, and lodged a protest when the General Court tried to secure acceptance for Sullivan's proposed terms of agreement with the Government for the Company's charter.¹¹

He sold off the last of his East India stock in May 1770,¹² and died at his house in Great James Street on 24 September 1792.¹³

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1. B. Ex. B., p. 44; G.M., vol. 62, pt. 2 (1792), p. 961.
 2. G.M., vol. 24 (1754), p. 92.
 3. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, pp. 54-55.
 4. The Intelligencer: or, Merchants Assistant ... (London, 1738), p. 77.
 5. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/56, p. 234.
 6. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/67, p. 137.
 7. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 54.
 8. L.M., vols. 32 (1763), p. 224; 33 (1764), p. 215.
 9. G.M., vol. 36 (1765), p. 145.
 10. I.O.L., Orme MSS., O.V. 37, f. 91: Col. Richard Smith to Robert Orme, 15 March 1767.
 11. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/257, pp. 91-92.
 12. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/18, p. 33.
 13. G.M., vol. 62, pt. 2 (1792), p. 961.
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BARWELL, William (c.1705-1769)

of Ormond Street, London and of Abbey House, Chertsey in Surrey.
Director of the East India Company 1753-56, 1758-59, 1761-64,
1766.

b., c. 1705, s. of William Barwell, of Enfield, Middlesex, by his w., Amy; m. (1), 15 Feby. 1730, in Fort William, Bengal, Elizabeth, sis. of Richard Eyre, Bengal councillor (d.v.p.); (2), 21 Novr. 1731, Ann Atkinson; 1s. 2da.; (3), 27 Feby. 1739, Elizabeth, da. of Capt. Richard Peirce; 7s. 1da.. 1

Governor of Bengal 1748-49.

Sheriff of Surrey 1768.²

Barwell came of a London merchant family,³ which had Eastern connections going back at least as far as the second half of the seventeenth century, when one Edward Barwell was 'a merchant in Bantam in the East Indies'.⁴ He was appointed writer with the Company in January 1721, and was posted to Bengal. He rose in the service, and, when the chiefship of Patna fell vacant in September 1743, was given the post.⁵

While he was in charge at Patna, allegations of misconduct were lodged against him. His violent temper brought him into conflict with the Company investigator, who reported him to the directors for inattention to business. Leaving Patna, he was appointed to the Fort William council, and succeeded eventually to the government. Meanwhile, however, the directors had found him guilty of misdemeanours at Patna. He was immediately dismissed, and arrived back in England in August 1750.⁶

As Barwell became a Company director in 1753, and was chosen for the Committee of Correspondence, usually reserved for directors of seniority, he must have been able to clear his name soon after his return. He did not lack interest among the directors,⁷ and his uncle, Richard Barwell, was a proprietor at this time.⁸ Politically he linked himself with the rising star of Laurence

Sullivan, and, by 1757, was 'inclined to promote Mr. Sullivan's views',⁹ supporting him in moves to prevent Holwell from succeeding to the Bengal government.¹⁰ Sullivan's henchman in shipping circles, Captain James Barton, stood surety for Barwell's son, William, a 'free merchant', in January 1762.¹¹

Barwell was evidently a well respected director by April 1763, since he was 'double-listed' in the election,¹² and generally came high in the poll. His dealings in East India stock before and after April 1763 point to his supporting Sullivan's campaign.¹³ In February 1764 he did not oppose Spencer's candidacy for the Bengal government,¹⁴ but in November was described as one of three 'Converts', whom Thomas Rous (q.v.) 'thought he could rely on for signing his List'.¹⁵

Barwell used his influence as a director to serve his numerous family. Four sons received civil appointments with the Company, and one entered the marine service. Richard Barwell wrote in 1766:

My Father who is a man of an excellent disposition and entertains the liveliest regard for his children, is cautious through disappointment: he has unprofitably bestowed and entrusted my elder Brother William with large sums; and ... I wonder not at his backwardness to part with what he thinks may prejudice the rest of his family and be no real benefit to me. 16

Certain members of the family, notably Richard and Mary Barwell, played important roles in Company politics in future years.¹⁷

Barwell died on 18 November 1769, and was buried in Chertsey parish church.¹⁸

1. Sir William Foster, 'William Barwell, Governor of Fort William, 1748-49', B.P.P., vol. 27 (Jany.-March 1924), p. 35; 'The Barwell Family', B.P.P., vol. 26 (Octr.-Decr. 1923), p. 184. The number of Barwell's children by his last marriage may have

exceeded the figure quoted.

2. Foster, op. cit., p. 43.
 3. Barwell's sureties on his appointment as writer were William and Richard Barwell, citizens and ironmongers of London (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/56, p. 238).
 4. John Nichols, The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester (London, 1804), vol. 3, pt. 2, p. 853.
 5. Foster, op. cit., p. 43.
 6. Foster, op. cit., pp. 37-41.
 7. Barwell had remitted part of his fortune with Thomas Burrow, Bengal councillor, and son of Christopher Burrow (q.v.), to Thomas Godfrey, brother and partner of Peter Godfrey (q.v.) (Fort William-India House Correspondence, vol. 1, pp. 312, 383).
 8. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/10, p. 30.
 9. Barwell Letter-Book, B.P.P., vol. 10 (1915), p. 253: Richard Barwell to Ralph Leycester, 26 Decr. 1769.
 10. Holwell, p. 168.
 11. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/78, p. 278.
 12. G.M., vol. 33 (1763), p. 199.
 13. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/13, pp. 22, 37.
 14. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/79, p. 302.
 15. N.L.W., MS. 52, p. 42: John Walsh to Robert Clive, 22 Novr. 1764.
 16. Barwell Letter-Book, B.P.P., vol. 9 (1914), pp. 85-86: Richard Barwell to Anselm Beaumont, 1 Sept. 1766.
 17. C.f. Chapter 3.
 18. Foster, op. cit., p. 43.
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BECHER, Richard (? -1782)

of Portman Square, London and of Rooksnest, Surrey.

Director of the East India Company 1775-78, 1780-March 1781.

b., ?, poss.s. of John Becher, drysalter of London, and bro. of Jane Becher, 'nearly related to a Lord Mayor of that name'; m. (1), 29 Novr. 1754, in Bengal, Charlotte, da. of Fenwick Golightly, by his w., Charlotte; lda.; (2), Ann Haselby; at least 2s. lda.. 1

Becher was appointed to the Company's Bengal service as a factor in February 1743.² By 1755 he was in charge at Dacca, but was forced to surrender to the forces of Siraj-ud-daula in the following year. With the restoration of peace, he assumed a place in council until dismissed for signing the despatch of December 1759, a protest instigated by Clive against allegations of misconduct by the directors.³

He returned to England in 1760, and became involved in Company politics by virtue of his Bengal connections, Verelst (q.v.) in particular, for whom he was agent, and through his former contact with Clive in India. He was entrusted with stock by Clive for 'splitting' before the 1764 election,⁴ and stood unsuccessfully on Clive's 'list'.⁵ Clive's agent, Walsh, approached Becher to stand again in 1765, but he declined for 'private Reasons'.⁶ His main concern was to return to Bengal, where he still had a number of interests. In 1766 he was appointed councillor by the now favourable Direction, and, with the support of prominent proprietors.⁷

Becher was soon given the post of resident in Murshidabad, and co-operated with Verelst in reforming the Company's revenue system, in which he was reckoned an expert. He was later praised for his humanitarian efforts during the Bengal famine of 1770.⁸ However, he once again fell foul of the authorities by

refusing to relinquish his views on revenue collection, despite opposition from the Bengal select committee.⁹ Ill health forced him to resign in January 1770, before orders for his dismissal could arrive from England.¹⁰

In London again, he was proposed by Clive's attorneys as a candidate for the 1774 election. With Ministerial support he was to stand for the hotly contested four-year class of directorship, 'as the most unexceptionable to stand the Brunt, Mr Wombwell [q.v.] declining to stand if he was not removed from that Class'.¹¹ Word was received that Becher, 'who had so handsomely undertaken the Post of danger', was to be opposed in the four-year class by Sullivan.¹² Though John Robinson was confident that Becher would be safe, he failed to be elected.¹³ He was returned safely in the following election of directors in April 1775.

As a Ministerial director Becher was expected to take a Government line over the question of Hastings's recall. He was put in an ambivalent position, however, by the investigations of Philip Francis into the proceedings of the native deputies, or banyans, of Company officials. Becher was concerned to protect his own banyan from imputations of his involvement in the so-called Burdwan revenue 'scandals'.¹⁴ He opposed the directors' decision to bar banyans generally from farming revenues for the Company,¹⁵ and with his former Bengal colleague, Francis Sykes, tried unsuccessfully to secure the restoration of one 'Rajabullub' to his rank with the Company.¹⁶ However, he did favour Francis's plans for a permanent settlement of the Bengal revenues, and supported the scheme in the Court of Directors.¹⁷

When the question of Hastings's recall was debated by the directors in May 1776, Becher 'distinguished himself in defence

of the injured gentlemen, particularly in that of Governor Hastings who, he said, at a time when that country was overrun with venality and corruption, by his good management, attention, and moderation, had restored the credit of the Company, and increased its revenues'.¹⁸

During the next years Becher and his brother ran into severe financial difficulties. Sykes reported to Hastings in 1781:

I am sorry to inform you that you will loose one great Friend in the direction M^r. Becher who by a Weakness to a degree of Madness and hardly to be conceived has entirely ruined himself and Family chiefly from a motive of serving his Brother, in short, he is in that distress'd situation as to have made away with the whole of his fortune, and now throws himself upon the mercy of the Court of Directors to send him out to India 19

The proprietors agreed to Becher's reinstatement in January 1781, and he resigned his seat in the Direction.²⁰ He returned to Bengal as chief superintendent of the Dacca mint, but had little opportunity to restore his fortunes. He died on 17 November 1782, while going up-river for his health.²¹

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1. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/67, p. 247; G.M., vol. 20 (1750), p. 236; I.O.L., Bengal Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, N1/1, pt. 1, f. 382; Madras Ecclesiastical Returns, N/2/1, vol. 1, f. 327; Bengal Obituary, p. 5. The will of Jane Becher's husband, Robert Nettleton, director of the Bank of England, makes it clear that she was Becher's sister (P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/999, f. 277 (1774)). The 'Lord Mayor' referred to would seem to be Sir Edward Becher, alderman and director of the South Sea Company.
 2. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/67, p. 230.
 3. Fort William-India House Correspondence, vol. 2, pp. 465-466.
 4. N.L.W., MS. 85, p. 15.
 5. L.M., vol. 33 (1764), p. 215.
 6. I.O.L., Home Misc. Ser., 808, f. 232: John Walsh to Robert Clive, n.d..
 7. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/82, p. 37. Lord Elibank, outspoken proprietor and connection of the Johnstone faction, said in 1771: '... had it not been for me he [Becher] never would have returned to India ...' (S.R.O., MS. GD/32/24 (34-57) (no

- foliation): Lord Elibank to William Young, 18 Novr. 1771).
8. Sir William W. Hunter, Annals of Rural Bengal (London, 1897), p. 165.
 9. A.M. Khan, pp. 241-253.
 10. A.M. Khan, p. 253.
 11. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 7.
 12. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 12.
 13. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 19.
 14. Sutherland (1), pp. 303 and n. 1, 306-307.
 15. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/91, p. 575.
 16. B.L., Add. MSS., 29138, ff. 280-280^v: Francis Sykes to Warren Hastings, 29 March 1777.
 17. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., E15, p. 807: Philip Francis to Richard Becher, 19 July 1777.
 18. G.M., vol. 46 (1776), p. 238.
 19. B.L., Add. MSS., 29147, f. 121: Francis Sykes to Warren Hastings, 14 Jany. 1781.
 20. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/260, p. 44.
 21. Bengal Obituary, p. 72; G.M., vol. 53, pt. 1 (1783), p. 540.
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BENSLEY, Sir William (c.1736-1809)

of Berners Street, Marylebone, London.

Director of the East India Company Octr. 1781-84, 1786-89, 1791-94, 1796-99, 1801-04, 1806.

b., c. 1736, s. of Thomas Bensley, of Norfolk, by Elizabeth, da. of William Winter, of Norfolk; m., 9 June 1798, Mary, da. of Vincent Biscoe, of London, by Lady Mary Seymour; d.s.p.; cr. Bt., 25 June 1801. 1

Bensley began life in the Royal Navy, but resigned his lieutenant's commission at the end of the Seven Years War.² He proceeded to India with the directors' permission, to employ himself in the 'seafaring way',³ and was recommended to the Company by Clive for a writership.⁴ This was duly awarded in May 1766.⁵ He became involved in Richard Barwell's trading ventures, representing his interests in Fort William, and later in England. On Bensley's leaving Bengal in 1777, Barwell wrote to his sister:

Bensley is a man of good sense and excellent judgment, rigidly just and warm in his friendship, and such is the opinion I entertain of him that I would not scruple to commit to him the whole charge of my fortune upon the security of his honor, so implicit a confidence have I in his probity. 6

Bensley had not neglected his own interests, however, and, according to Philip Francis, had 'made his Fortune by this Station Custom Master in less than six Years'.⁷

In England his political associations tended to be with 'nabobs' from Bengal, such as Becher (q.v.) and Sykes. It was natural that he should lend his support to the movement defending Hastings and Barwell from attempts to recall them, and it was with the backing of this group that he was brought into the Direction in October 1781.⁸ Hastings was told in January 1782:

... Bensley sticks firm by him [Sullivan] upon all Occasions ... M^r Sullivan says Bensley is of more Use to him, than all the other Directors of his Party together

& this he begged me to mention fully to you Bensley is universally Esteemed. 9

In October he dissented from the resolution to remove Hastings.¹⁰ He felt that Parliament lacked sufficient understanding of the Indian situation to attempt any useful reform of the Company, and therefore that Hastings should be given more power to put Company interests on a solid footing.¹¹ He may also have had a more personal interest in staying on good terms with the governor-general, since he was still receiving remittances of his Bengal fortune in August 1783.¹²

The defence of Hastings seems to have brought Bensley and Sullivan closer together. Both disapproved of Lord Macartney's taking over the revenues of the Nawab of Arcot to aid the Company's military efforts in the Carnatic.¹³ He again co-operated in February 1785, when Sullivan objected to the choice of Macartney as Hastings's successor.¹⁴

His views on the impracticability of government intervention in Indian affairs made him no friend of Henry Dundas. Bensley was outspoken in public against Dundas's attempts to force the King's regiments on the Company,¹⁵ and opposed his nomination of General William Medows for the Madras government.¹⁶ Dundas retaliated by using his influence to prevent Bensley's selection for a Company chair, to which his seniority entitled him. He, and other hostile directors, were to be considered 'objects of vengeance'.¹⁷

Bensley eventually fell into line with Dundas, being noted in April 1789 as a 'staunch' friend of the Minister.¹⁸

He died on 17 December 1809, aged seventy two.¹⁹

1. B.Ex.B., p. 57; Holzman, p. 135.
 2. Holzman, p. 135.
 3. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/79, p. 383.
 4. Fort William-India House Correspondence, vol. 4, p. 175.
 5. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/62, p. 38.
 6. Barwell Letter-Book, B.P.P., vol. 17 (1918), p. 240: Richard Barwell to Mary Barwell, 28 June 1777.
 7. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., E13A, p. 798: Philip Francis to 'Mr. D'Oyly', 5 Novr. 1776.
 8. B.L., Add. MSS., 29157, f. 409: Richard Barwell to Warren Hastings, 8 Jany. 1783.
 9. B.L., Add. MSS., 29152, f. 336: John Scott to Warren Hastings, 25 Jany. 1782.
 10. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/98, p. 536.
 11. B.L., Add. MSS., 29162, f. 76: William Bensley to Warren Hastings, 1 Feby. 1784.
 12. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/99, p. 319.
 13. B.L., Add. MSS., 29166, ff. 368-368^v: John Scott to Warren Hastings, 30 Octr. 1784.
 14. B.L., Add. MSS., 29168, ff. 80-80^v: John Scott to Warren Hastings, 18 Feby. 1785.
 15. G.M., vol. 58, pt. 1 (1788), p. 169.
 16. Philips (1), p. 61.
 17. Philips (1), p. 61, quoted.
 18. S.R.O., MS. GD/51/3/15, f. 39^v: David Scott to Henry Dundas, 9 April 1789.
 19. B.Ex.B., p. 57.
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BODDAM, Charles (1719-1784)

of Bull's Cross, Enfield in Middlesex.

Director of the East India Company 1769, 1772-75, 1777-80, 1782-d. 1784.

bapt., 10 May 1719, in Madras, eld. s. of Capt. Charles Boddam, by Mary, da. of Rawson Hart, 'free merchant'; m., 29 March 1754, in Madras, Frances, da. of Nicholas Morse, governor of Madras, 1744-46. 1

Though born in India. Boddam was sent to England as a boy. He returned in 1736 with his father, having the permission of the directors 'to take up his residence in Madrass, it being the place of his Nativity'.² His father was commander of the Walpole India-man, and had married into a merchant family of importance in both Madras and London.³ Boddam was appointed writer on the Madras establishment in October 1741, and, by January 1750, was seventh in council.⁴ With other members of his family, he lent money to the Nawab, and is listed as a creditor in the so-called 'Consolidated Debt' of 1767.⁵

By his marriage he became brother-in-law of Henry Vansittart (q.v.), in England from 1765, and an influential opponent of Robert Clive. Having returned to England by October 1760,⁶ it was natural that Boddam should join the party of Clive's principal adversary, Laurence Sullivan. Boddam's name appeared in Sullivan's 'list' for the 1765 election, but, being a relatively new face to the proprietors, was felt to carry little weight. John Walsh wrote confidently to Clive:

Charles Boddam is invited by Sullivan to be in his list, which looks as if he was put to it for men. 7

This was not to be Sullivan's year, however. The group had to remain deprived of power until 1769, when Boddam became involved in its vast 'stock-splitting' activities in the months prior to the April election. Though elected successfully,

Boddam was affected by the fall in stock prices which almost ruined other contributors to the 'Great Scheme'. Nicholas Morse wrote in the following year of an expected rise in stock, which would 'repair the Loss M^r V [ansittart] was like to have sustain'd otherwise and that it may releive M^r Boddam in that Respect, who tis said has been engagd in that way and was like to Suffer a Warning sufficient to beware another Time'.⁸

The election victory proved short-lived, however. The fact that Boddam was able to return to the Direction in 1772, and to serve continuously for eight years (excepting a year out in rotation) indicates that he had moved nearer to at least two of the dominating interests of the period, the Ministerial faction and the shipping bloc. He voted with Government followers in the General Court at least once,⁹ and his name appears with other notable members of the shipping interest on another occasion.¹⁰ He had much in common with the latter group, primarily as a result of his father's marine concerns, but also through the activities of his brother, the 'East Indian', Thomas Boddam, a ship's husband and director of the London Assurance Company.¹¹

Boddam stood with opposition groups to the Government in April 1774, and was elected.¹² He was not in the Direction in 1776 when the question of Hastings's removal was raised, but, in 1782, opposed such a proposal.¹³ He had maintained many of his 'East Indian' associations (now mostly in the Hastings camp), while his brother, the senior Bombay servant, Rawson Hart Boddam, was a friend of the governor-general.¹⁴ Boddam also acted with Sullivan during the campaign against Fox's India Bill, and is listed as one of his followers at the time.¹⁵

The years 1782 to 1784 mark the climax of his career as a

director. He was returned at the top of the poll in the 1782 election, and was chosen for the pre-eminent Committees of Correspondence and Treasury. His efforts on behalf of Rawson Hart Boddam were crowned with success in September 1783, when the latter was appointed governor of Bombay.¹⁶

Boddam died at Bull's Cross on 5 November 1784.¹⁷

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1. I.O.L., Madras Ecclesiastical Returns, N/2/1, vol. 1, ff. 77, 538; Henry D. Love, Vestiges of Old Madras 1640-1800 (London, 1913), pp. 336, 388.
 2. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/63, p. 481.
 3. Rawson Hart was a Madras merchant, while his brother, Heron Hart, was a London ship-owner. Both were involved in diamond trading from India.
 4. I.O.L., Madras Civilians, A-I, O/6/30, f. 45.
 5. Gurney, p. 325, Appendix 1.
 6. This date marks his first purchase of East India stock in England (I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/12, p. 87).
 7. G.M., vol. 35 (1765), p. 195; I.O.L., Home Misc. Ser., 808, p. 229: John Walsh to Robert Clive, 14 Feby. 1765.
 8. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 551, f. 104: Nicholas Morse to Robert Palk, 30 Sept. 1770.
 9. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/258, p. 141.
 10. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/258, p. 284.
 11. For Thomas Boddam's shipping concerns, c.f. I.O.L., Ct. Bks., B/85, p. 454; B/93, p. 444; B/97, p. 575.
 12. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 17.
 13. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/260, p. 217.
 14. B.L., Add. MSS., 29161, f. 149: Rawson Hart Boddam to Warren Hastings, 23 Novr. 1783.
 15. Sutherland (1), p. 378, n. 4.
 16. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/99, p. 397.
 17. G.M., vol. 54 (1784), p. 876.
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BOEHM, Edmund (1741-1822)

of Size Lane, London.

Director of the East India Company 1784-87.

bapt., 2 May 1741, 2nd. s. of Edmund Boehm, merchant of Great Berkhamsted, Hertfordshire, by Martha, da. of Sir Roger Hudson, of Sunbury House, Middlesex (whose w. was Emma Susanna, da. of Peter Vansittart, of Danzig); m., 18 July 1781 — Berney. 1

Director of the South Sea Company 1780-83, 1793-1814.

Assistant to the Russia Company 1784-1804.

Boehm had entered his father's business in Size Lane by 1759.² His stance in Company politics was to be conditioned by that of his father, whose family links, and financial activities, gave him extensive interests in India affairs. The family had enjoyed a long connection with the Vansittarts, Boehm, the elder, standing surety for Henry Vansittart (q.v.), when a Company servant, and acting as his English attorney.³ Boehm also inherited from his father a number of Continental interests. In 1735 his father had been noted as a 'Hamburgh merchant',⁴ and, in 1753, had helped to float a loan for the city of Danzig.⁵ Other members of Boehm's immediate family were prominent in the financial life of London.⁶

Boehm, senior, became more directly involved in Company politics through his role as Vansittart's attorney, in charge of his financial involvement in the 'Great Scheme' of 1769, when Vansittart left for India at the end of the year.⁷ His ties with the Sullivan party were strengthened by his shipping connections with the Boddams,⁸ while his son, Roger Boehm, stood for the Direction in April 1765 on Sullivan's 'list'.⁹ As a proprietor, Boehm, the elder, helped to convene the General Court of May 1776 which revoked the decision to recall Hastings.¹⁰

On his father's death in 1781, Boehm took over the business

and supported the party still trying to defend Hastings from attempts to remove him.¹¹ He was approached by North's former Treasury secretary, John Robinson, to stand as a Pitt candidate in the general election of 1784, but declined.¹² He was, however, to be brought into the Company Direction. Richard Atkinson told Robinson in March of that year:

Mr Baring [q.v.] and I have been taking steps for bringing Mr. Boehm forward as a candidate in April (for Director) and hope as he will have Mr. Sullivan's support he will succeed. 13

As a director, he continued to support the Hastings party, and promised to give his backing to a resolution allowing Hastings to remain in India until a satisfactory successor could be found.¹⁴

Boehm's Continental connections gave him a more international interest in trade with the East Indies. From June 1776 his father had cashed bills in London for the Danish East India Company.¹⁵ Boehm expanded these concerns to deal with the Dutch and Danish Companies. Of £858,216 paid to holders of Danish bills drawn between 1783 and 1793, £291,174 passed through his hands. He maintained personal contact with the Danish Company directors, and passed on information regarding decisions taken in the Direction of the English Company. With more questionable professional ethics, he warned Danish captains of the times when it was most dangerous to smuggle goods into England.¹⁶

Such activities did not taint the opinion of him held by fellow directors. Atkinson (q.v.) considered him 'Respectable in Character, fortune and connection and but for ill health and a retired turn would soon qualify himself to take a lead'.¹⁷ However, by August 1786, Boehm was finding the 'attendance more constant than suits his Conveniency', and was giving thought to

resigning his seat.¹⁸

He died on 28 August 1822.¹⁹

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1. Wagner Abstracts, BO-BONL, Boehm family notes; Edward H. Fellowes, The Frederick Family (Windsor, 1932), p. 49; Appendix 2; G.M., vol. 51 (1781), p. 393.
 2. Kent's Directory ... (London, 1759), p. 16.
 3. I.O.L., Ct. Bks., B/68, p. 474; B/70, p. 196; B/71, p. 239.
 4. G.M., vol. 5 (1735), p. 276.
 5. A.H. John, 'Insurance Investment and the London Money Market of the 18th Century', Economica, vol. 20 (1953), p. 154.
 6. Boehm's father, and his uncle, Charles Boehm, were consuls of the Russia Company in 1756. Charles was also a director of the Bank of England, as was Boehm's brother, Roger.
 7. Hist. MSS. Comm. Palk, p. 127: Laurence Sullivan to Robert Palk, c. May-Septr. 1770.
 8. I.O.L., Ct. Bks., B/85, p. 454; B/93, p. 444; B/97, p. 332.
 9. G.M., vol. 35 (1765), p. 195.
 10. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/259, p. 178.
 11. I.O.L., Genl Ct. Mins., B/260, p. 209.
 12. Dé, p. 245, n. 1: Edmund Boehm to John Robinson, 20 Jany. 1784.
 13. Dé, p. 245: Richard Atkinson to John Robinson, 10 March 1784.
 14. B.L., Add. MSS., 29166, f. 298^v: John Scott to Warren Hastings, 15 Octr. 1784.
 15. Ole Feldbaek, India Trade under the Danish flag, 1772-1808: European enterprise and Anglo-Indian remittance and trade (Odense, 1969), p. 29.
 16. Furber (2), pp. 92; 123, n. 27; 123, n. 28.
 17. Furber (1), p. 486: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 22 July 1784.
 18. S.R.O., MS. GD/51/3/54b¹, f. 211: John Motteux to Henry Dundas, 23 Augt. 1786.
 19. G.M., vol. 92, pt. 2 (1822), p. 285.
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BOOTH, Benjamin (1732-1807)

of Lincoln's Inn Fields, and The Adelphi, London.

b., 21 June 1732, s. of John Booth; m., Jane, o. da. of Richard Salwey, of Moor Park, Shropshire, and of Hay Park, Hertfordshire, by his 2nd. w., Jane, da. of his cos., Richard Salwey, of London; at least 2 da., one of whom m., 7 April 1794, Richard Ford, M.P.. 1

Booth's first venture into Company politics was during the election of 1764, when he supported the party of Thomas Rous (q.v.) and Robert Clive, receiving stock in March from Robert Bulkeley,² and from John Wilkinson.³ He was elected to the Direction in 1767 on the 'House list',⁴ and acted with Clive's majority in the question of the proposed terms of agreement for the Company charter.⁵ With the advent of the North Administration, he supported the nucleus of directors in the Ministry camp.

His willingness to facilitate the election in April 1774 of John Robinson's protégé, John Stables (q.v.), cost him his own seat in a disappointing year for the Ministry's candidates.

Philip Francis was told by a Government supporter:

M^r Stables was indeed brought in by Mr. Booth's giving him his three votes which threw Himself out so that by that we got nothing. 6

However, other Government followers did not consider Booth's defeat a great loss. Lord Rochford reported to the King:

... Lord Rochford is glad to see that the house list amended has brought in four, and Mr Booth as he has been out of England during all the late Squabbles at the India house no one can pretend to say what Line of Conduct he would have held. 7

Booth was returned safely in 1775 as a Government follower, and in 1778 was still believed to 'go with Administration'.⁸ It was during the period of Ministerial dominance in the 1770's that he was promoted to the Committee of Correspondence.

By 1783 he was no longer classed as a supporter of North.

As a London merchant he probably fell into line with the leaders of the City group in the Direction, Baring and Atkinson (q.v.), and was said to be a friend of the latter.⁹ In December 1783 he was thanked by the General Court for his part in the defeat of Fox's India Bill.¹⁰

Throughout the 1770's Booth dealt heavily in East India stock,¹¹ and he was one of a minority of directors in the period who held a maximum of £17,000 stock at any one time.¹²

Atkinson wrote of him in 1785:

Mr. Booth, an old Director; attends about once a month & it is scarce ever known where he is to be found. Always well effected to Government, but not in the least qualified to take any Lead. Neither in friendship nor enmity with Sullivan. 13

He died on 21 August 1807, aged seventy five.¹⁴

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1. Cussans, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 227; B.Hist.C., vol. 1, p. 154; Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 449.
 2. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/14, p. 99. For Bulkeley's extensive 'stock-splitting' for the Clive party, c.f. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/14, p. 115.
 3. This would seem to be John Wilkinson, partner of John Manship (q.v.), who was hostile to Sullivan at the time.
 4. G.M., vol. 37 (1767), p. 189.
 5. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/257, pp. 91-92.
 6. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., C7/A, p. 107: John Campbell to Philip Francis, 19 April 1774.
 7. Fortescue, vol. 3, p. 93: Lord Rochford to the King, 14 April 1774. Booth and Devaynes (q.v.) had just returned from a long, and fruitless, mission to the French Court, where they had sought compensation for the Company's maintenance of French prisoners-of-war (Colebrooke, pt. 1, p. 193).
 8. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. hist., c269, p. 27: Laurence Sullivan to Stephen Sullivan, [1778].
 9. Philips (1), p. 28 and n. 5.
 10. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/260, p. 302.
 11. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/20, pp. 95, 100, 105-106, 108.
 12. Holden Furber, 'The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, 1783-96', Economic History Review,

- vol. 10 (1939-40), p. 145, n. 2.
13. Furber (1), p. 490: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 31 Jany. 1785.
14. G.M., vol. 77, pt. 2 (1807), p. 491.

BOOTLE, Robert (? -1758)

of Hatton Garden, London and of Latham Hall, Lancashire.

Director of the East India Company 1741-44, 1746-49, 1752-53, 1755.

b., ?, s. of Robert Bootle, of Maghull, Lancashire, and bro. of Sir Thomas Bootle, M.P., and of Edward Bootle, attorney general to the Duchy of Lancaster; m. Anne ____ . 1

Fellow of the Royal Society 1757.²

Bootle's family owned extensive properties in the north of England, and carried the corresponding political weight, particularly in Lancashire and Yorkshire.³ Sir Thomas Bootle, M.P. for Liverpool from 1724 to 1734, was also the friend of, and chancellor to, Frederick, Prince of Wales.⁴ Bootle's interests in the East India Company were in the shipping line, having been commander of the London Indiaman on five voyages to the East, from 1723 to 1739.⁵

Bootle's will refers to his shares in the ownership of Company shipping.⁶ He retained an interest in the London,⁷ and was part-owner of the Suffolk with Samuel Braund, the prominent ship's husband, and with Lancashire connections, such as Charles Pole, M.P. for Liverpool, and insurer,⁸ who was also named as an executor in Bootle's will with William Willy (q.v.). Bootle sat on the Shipping Committee in every year of his directorship.

He died on 7 May 1758 in Hatton Garden.⁹

1. Sedgwick, vol. 1, p. 473; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/805, f. 311 (1753): Will of Sir Thomas Bootle; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/837, f. 141 (1758): Will of Robert Bootle; *Jewers*, vol. 1, pp. 154, 165.
 2. *G.M.*, vol. 27 (1757), p. 217.
 3. Edward Bootle married Sarah, daughter of Thomas Dawson, Lord Mayor of York in 1703 (*Jewers*, vol. 1, pp. 154, 165). Sir Thomas Bootle was Mayor of Liverpool from 1726 to 1727 (Sedgwick, vol. 1, p. 473).
 4. Sedgwick, vol. 1, p. 473.
 5. I.O.L., Mar. Rec. Cat., pp. 20, 22, 24, 26.
 6. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/837, f. 141 (1758): Will of Robert Bootle.
 7. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/66, p. 157.
 8. Sutherland (2), p. 155
 9. *G.M.*, vol. 28 (1758), p. 244.
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BOSANQUET, Jacob (1713-1767)

of King's Arms Yard, London and of Albyns, Essex.

Director of the East India Company 1759.

b., 22 Decr. 1713, 8th. s. of David Bosanquet, merchant of London, by Elizabeth, eld. da. of Claude Hays; m., 18 Jany. 1748, in Hamburg, Elizabeth, da. of John Hanbury, of Kelmarsh, Northamptonshire; 4s. 3da. . 1

Director of the Levant Company 1759.

As a young man Bosanquet entered the firm of his brothers, Claude and Samuel Bosanquet, merchants of London. In June 1733 he was sent to Hamburg to represent the firm's interests in Germany. During his residence there, he built up trading contacts of his own, which enabled him to set up in business on his return to London in 1757.² As an independent merchant he exported mainly Eastern goods to the Continent, importing German and Dutch linens in exchange. He thus consolidated his connections with the large Dutch and German houses in this field, and went on to act as their agent in dealings on the London stock market.³

His interests in Eastern trade seem to have led to his standing for the Direction of the East India and Levant Companies. By 1742, while still abroad, he could claim that he had 'large dealings in Callicoes and Muslins and do yearly sell 2 or 300 bales ...'.⁴ He also imported diamonds from Madras,⁵ and dealt in other Indian specie. Richard Barwell wrote in 1765 apologising for his inability to 'give you the least encouragement to make the consignments [of amber and coral] you obligingly proposed'.⁶

Bosanquet sold off most of his stock after 1759, retaining only sufficient to qualify as a proprietor.⁷

He died on 9 June 1767.⁸

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1. Lee, pp. 19, 92, 95-96.
 2. Lee, pp. 92-95.
 3. Wilson, p. 116.
 4. De Neufville MSS.: Jacob Bosanquet to Jan Isaac de Neufville, 17 April 1742.
 5. I.O.L., Ct. Bks., B/78, p. 163; B/81, p. 307.
 6. Barwell Letter-Book, B.P.P., vol. 8 (1914), p. 208: Richard Barwell to Jacob Bosanquet, 30 Augt. 1765.
 7. I.O.L., Stock Ledgers, L/AG/14/5/13, p. 76; L/AG/14/5/14, p. 93.
 8. Lee, p. 96.
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BOSANQUET, Jacob (c.1756-1828)

of Bloomsbury Square, London and of Broxbournebury,
Hertfordshire.

Director of the East India Company Augt. 1782-83, 1785-88,
1790-93, 1795-97*-98**,
1800-02*-03**, 1805-08,
1810*-11**-12**-13, 1815-
18, 1820-23, 1825-March 1827.

b., c. 1756, in Hamburg, s. of Jacob Bosanquet
(q.v.), by Elizabeth, da. of John Hanbury, of Kel-
marsh, Northamptonshire; m., 27 Septr. 1790, Hen-
rietta, 2nd. da. of Sir George Armytage, Bt., of
Kirklees, Yorkshire, and wid. of Thomas Grady, of
Harley Street, London; 2s. 2da.. 1

In 1780 Bosanquet appears as a junior partner in the firm
of Bosanquet and Willermin, silk merchants, of Throgmorton
Street, which was run by his cousin, William Bosanquet.² When
the partnership dissolved two years later, he moved to Blooms-
bury Square. He had already formulated plans of standing for
the East India Direction, and was encouraged in this scheme by
his extensive family connections in the City's financial world.³
His chance came in August 1782, when the City elements in the
Hastings camp, particularly Baring and Atkinson (qq.v.), brought
him forward for a vacancy in the Direction. Scott confided
to Hastings before the election:

It is of great Consequence to us that M^r Bosanquet
should carry his Election & I have no Doubt of his
Success. We can bring him I am sure 100 Votes &
his own Interest is very considerable, add to this
he has the support of Lord Shelburne. 4

This united support was sufficient to defeat the rival candid-
ate, one John Webb, a follower of Fox.⁵

Bosanquet soon showed that he felt no unquestioning alleg-
iance to the Hastings camp, and that he would take his line
generally from Baring. When the directors attempted to rescind
the decision to recall Hastings, in accordance with the wishes

of the General Court, he astonished Hastings's agent by agreeing with Baring that the proprietors had no right to make any such decision, and opposed the measure.⁶

Initially, Bosanquet's 'ignorance of India matters' caused him embarrassment.⁷ However, he was both able and ambitious, and, by 1784, Atkinson was predicting that he would have an important future in the Company:

Mr. Bosanquet - a young Merchant of the City, independent and well connected; may in time take a Lead, but will not at present apply much. Against Sullivan & attached to Baring. 8

Thus, in the years prior to 1790, Bosanquet served on the Company committees dealing with mercantile matters, rather than on those handling the Company's Indian policy. He was later to become the inveterate enemy of David Scott (q.v.), and, by 1788, was opposing Dundas over the matter of the King's regiments.⁹ He was one of four directors selected to take the Company's case before the Crown.¹⁰

Later, in 1802, at the height of his power, Bosanquet was described by the current President of the Board of Control as a 'great coxcomb and among the least pleasant men to act with that have fallen in my way'.¹¹

He died on 30 July 1828.¹²

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1. Lee, pp. 106-109; B.L.G., vol. 1, p. 79.
 2. Lee, p. 106.
 3. Herts Rec. Office, D/EBb.F10, no. 2: Jacob Bosanquet to John Harrison, [c. 1782].
 4. B.L., Add. MSS., 29155, f. 397: John Scott to Warren Hastings, 12 Augt. 1782.
 5. Copeland, vol. 5, p. 31.
 6. B.L., Add. MSS., 29156, f. 361^v: John Scott to Warren Hastings, 5 Novr. 1782.

7. Herts. Rec. Office, D/EBb.F10, no. 2: Jacob Bosanquet to John Harrison, [c. 1782].
 8. Furber (1), p. 491: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 31 Jany. 1785.
 9. G.M., vol. 58, pt. 1 (1788), p. 261.
 10. Auber, p. 440.
 11. Quoted in Philips (1), p. 153.
 12. Lee, p. 109.
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BOSANQUET, Richard (1735-1809)

of Mincing Lane, London.

Director of the East India Company 1768-69, 1771-72.

b., 27 May 1735, o. s. of David Bosanquet, by Dorcas Melchior, and nephew of Jacob Bosanquet, sr. (q.v.);
unm.. 1

Director of the Royal Exchange Assurance Company.

Bosanquet received his early commercial training from his uncles, Jacob and Samuel, before setting up in business as a partner in the firm of Bosanquet and Fatio, Hamburg merchants, of Mincing Lane.² The firm also had West Indian interests. Bosanquet visited Granada in 1775 to look after his 'private concerns', and to act as agent for Thomas Walpole (q.v.).³ Like his uncle, Jacob Bosanquet, he acted for Dutch financiers in the purchase of East India stock.⁴

His own stock dealings point to his associating with the followers of Clive in the mid-1760's, Luke Scrafton (q.v.) in particular,⁵ and, by the end of the decade, with the Ministerial party in the Company.⁶ Bosanquet's partner, John David Fatio, also participated in these stock manoeuvres, and is linked with Clive's agent, John Walsh.⁷ With other proprietors who were conspicuous in their support of the North Ministry Bosanquet called

for a ballot over the proposed supervisory commission for India in August 1772.⁸ His own interests in India disposed him to give his backing to the Clive party, as he was handling remittances for Richard Becher (q.v.).⁹

According to family tradition, Bosanquet squandered his fortune by his rakish way of life, and by rash speculation in the stocks.¹⁰ A member of his partner's family, J.C. Fatio, was certainly involved with the Company's speculators who were trying to force the dividend up to dangerously high levels in 1767.¹¹ The firm failed, and all its assets were handed over to creditors in February 1777. Bosanquet fled the country to escape arrest, but, in September 1779, the Company directors ordered that a pension of £200 be paid him 'in Consideration of his having been a Director of the Company, and being now in reduced Circumstances'.¹²

He returned to England at a later date, but seems to have been rejected by his family. He died on 17 April 1809 in Falmouth.¹³

1. Lee, pp. 40-41.

2. Lee, p. 42.

3. Lee, p. 42.

4. Wilson, p. 214.

5. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/14, p. 98.

6. He transferred £1,000 to John Powell of the Pay Office in July 1770 (I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/18, p. 91).

7. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/14, p. 281..

8. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/258, p. 47.

9. Reports from Committees of the House of Commons. Printed by Order of the House. Vol. 4. Eighth Report, p. 432, Appendix 17.

10. Lee, p. 42

11. Sutherland (1), p. 170, n. 7. John David Fatio, it would seem, was also supporting Sullivan by this date, and was numbered among the speculators (Maclean, p. 181).
 12. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/95, p. 274.
 13. G.M., vol. 53, pt. 1 (1809), p. 33.
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BOULTON, Henry Crabb

vide CRABB BOULTON, Henry

BOYD, Sir John (1718-1800)

of Austin Friars, and New Broad Street, London and of Danson
Park, Kent.

Director of the East India Company 1753-56, 1758-59*-61,
1763-64.

b., 29 Decr. 1718, o. s. of John Augustus Boyd,
merchant of London, by Lucy, da. of Judge Peters, of
St. Christopher, West Indies; matric. at Oxford,
16 Feby, 1737; m. (1), 27 June 1749, Mary, da. of
William Burnsted, of Upton, Warwickshire; (2), 1
Augt. 1766, Catherine, da. of Rev. John Chapone, of
Charlton, Gloucestershire; cr. Bt., 2 June 1775. 1

Boyd is listed with his father as a merchant of Austin
Friars from about 1752.² His family had strong West Indian ties,
and his father was believed to have made his fortune through
contracts to victual the British fleet at Jamaica.³ Even at his
death, Boyd was in possession of plantations on St. Christopher.⁴
He accumulated a substantial holding in East India stock in his
early years as a director, and, by April 1761, held £6,000
worth, two thirds of which had come from Thomas Lane, Laurence
Sullivan's 'jackal'.⁵

Boyd carried sufficient weight with the proprietors to be
'double-listed' in 1763.⁶ Clive considered him to be a man of
influence in the Company,⁷ but there was no doubt as to his firm
support for Sullivan, for whose party he created ten 'split'
votes in March of this year.⁸ He stood by Sullivan in the matter
of Spencer's appointment to Bengal,⁹ and, a year later, when his
leader could secure no clear majority for the office of chair-
man, joined him in walking out of the Court in disgust.¹⁰

He remained steady in his allegiance, protesting with Suli-
van at the unprecedented powers given to Clive's Bengal select
committee.¹¹ Such was the importance attached to his support for
Sullivan, that rumours of his intention not to stand for election

in April 1765 gave Sullivan's enemies cause to doubt his ability to recover his position in the Company.¹² Sullivan, in turn, aided Boyd's protégés. He wrote later:

Vinegar [Paul Benfield] had my Support in going abroad at the request of his Patron John Boyd he consulted me as his Friend 13

Boyd stood on Sullivan's 'list' in 1765, but was defeated.¹⁴

He continued to support Sullivan's efforts to regain control of the Company, and was a member of the unsuccessful 'Proprietors' list' of 1766.¹⁵ He became involved in the 'Great Scheme' of 1769, lending £9,000 stock in October 1768 to create eighteen votes.¹⁶ Boyd may have been playing a double game by this date, however, since his dealings show that he was also working with forces hostile to Sullivan.¹⁷

With the collapse of the 'Scheme', Boyd could not be repaid for some time. By September 1774 he had also become involved in the debts of Sir George Colebrooke (q.v.), and was becoming increasingly concerned about the security offered him.¹⁸ By 1778 his patience was exhausted. Sullivan complained:

Sir John Boyd has behaved with unparralleld barbarity after making a peremptory demand of the Money owing by Colebrooke which I convinced his Lawyer it was not in my power to pay, he sent me a regular requisition after which a Prison [Person?] might be hourly expected. 19

Boyd eventually agreed to Sullivan's payment of part of the debt.²⁰

He died on 24 January 1800 at Danson Park.²¹

1. G.E.C., vol. 5, p. 184.

2. A Complete Guide to All Persons ... (London, 1752), p. 143

3. Colebrooke, pt. 1, p. 29.

4. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1336, f. 82 (1800): Will of Sir John Boyd.

5. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/12, p. 79.
 6. G.M., vol. 33 (1763), p. 199.
 7. B.L., Add. MSS., 32948, ff. 332-335^v: 'Proprietors of East India Stock from Lord Clive's Paper - May 19th 1763'.
 8. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/13, p. 73.
 9. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/79, p. 302; B/80, p. 25.
 10. Sutherland (1), p. 130.
 11. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/80, p. 82.
 12. N.L.W., MS. 52, p. 49: John Walsh to Robert Clive, 12 Jany. 1765.
 13. Bod. Lib., Ms. Eng. hist., c269, p. 10: Laurence Sullivan to Stephen Sullivan, [1778].
 14. G.M., vol. 35 (1765), p. 195.
 15. P.A., 7 April 1766.
 16. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/16, p. 105.
 17. For his dealings with John Powell of the Pay Office, c.f. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/18, p. 88.
 18. Hist. MSS. Comm. Palk, p. 243: Laurence Sullivan to Robert Palk, 15 Septr. 1774.
 19. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. hist., c270, p. 34: Laurence Sullivan to ?, 28 Decr. 1778.
 20. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. hist., c270, p. 34: Laurence Sullivan to ?, 28 Decr. 1778.
 21. G.M., vol. 70, pt. 1 (1808), p. 93.
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BROWNE, John (? -?1771)¹

of Cornhill, London.

Director of the East India Company 1757-60, 1762-63.

m. Hannah ____.²

Browne's address points to his having been the partner of that name with Richard Chauncy (q.v.) in the firm of Chauncy and Browne, linen drapers of Cornhill, in business from at least as early as 1736.³ From about 1765 to 1772 he would seem to have participated in the firm of Browne, Platt and Bennet, also linen merchants of the same address.⁴ He would thus have been a member of the group of directors involved in the supply of Company cloth. His affiliations could therefore be expected to have lain with the more traditional interests in the Company. Before the 1758 election, he was 'double-listed', but demonstrated his disinclination to be associated with Sullivan by objecting to his inclusion in the 'Proprietors' list',⁵ and, later, by opposing Sullivan's move to drop Holwell from the succession to the Bengal government.⁶

At the next disputed election, in 1763, he was once more named in both 'lists',⁷ but, with directors hostile to Sullivan, entered his dissent to Spencer's appointment to Bengal.⁸ He sold off most of his stock in April 1764, retaining only sufficient to qualify as a proprietor.⁹

He may be the John Browne who died on 26 August 1771.¹⁰

1. Browne's stock holdings show that he had died by 1773 (I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/18, p. 88). He may possibly, therefore, be identified with the John Browne who died on 26 Augt. 1771 (L.M., vol. 40 (1771), p. 424).
2. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/18, p. 88. Browne's stock was transferred to Hannah Browne, widow.

3. The Directory ... of Eminent Traders ... (London, 1736), p. 10.
 4. A Complete Guide to All Persons ... (London, 1765), p. 130;
The New Complete Guide ... (London, 1772), p. 191.
 5. Sutherland (1), p. 71, n. 3.
 6. Holwell, p. 167.
 7. G.M., vol. 33 (1763), p. 199.
 8. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/79, p. 302.
 9. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/14, p. 92.
 10. L.M., vol. 40 (1771), 424.
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BURGES, Sir John Smith-

vide SMITH-BURGES, Sir John

BURROW, Christopher (? -1766)

of Hatton Garden, London.

Director of the East India Company 1735-38, 1740-43, 1745-48,
1750-53, 1755-58, 1760-61.

b., ?, 2nd. s. of Thomas Burrow, merchant of London,
of Chislehurst and Clapham, Surrey, by Jane, da. of
Sir Christopher Lethieullier, director of the Bank
of England, 1712-34; m. Anne, da. of Abraham Leth-
ieullier; 2s. 1da.. 1

Director of the London Assurance Company 1729-31.

The Burrow family had extensive connections by marriage in the City, particularly with families of Huguenot extraction, and involved in trade and finance.² Burrow's early career was spent in the employ of the South Sea Company, and he was later said to have been that Company's 'last supercargo'.³ He was 'very well provided for' by his father,⁴ being able to establish himself as a merchant, probably in the woollen line.⁵

As a director, Burrow represented the interests of his nephew, John Burrow, a supercargo from 1743,⁶ and a China councillor, and of his own son, Thomas, a Company servant in Bengal from 1740,⁷ and councillor in Fort William from 1749 to 1752.⁸ Burrow became involved, through his son's remittances, with other directors who had Bengal interests.⁹ Thomas Burrow died soon after his return to England in 1752, but former Bengal colleagues continued to remit his estate, at least until 1758.¹⁰

Burrow may well have had a personal interest, therefore, in the controversy over the succession to the Bengal government in 1757. However, probably of more importance in determining his standpoint in this matter, and in the subsequent election contest of April 1758, were his relationships with the directors of long standing, such as Payne (q.v.), who were ranged against Sullivan. Burrow objected to his inclusion in Sullivan's 'list' before the

election,¹¹ and opposed Sullivan's attempts to prevent Holwell succeeding to the Bengal government.¹²

Burrow was a director of long experience in the domestic organisation of the Company's trade, having served on the Committee of Buying for twenty consecutive years by the time of his retirement. He sold off all his India stock in March 1762,¹³ and was replaced in the Direction by his son, Robert Burrow (q.v.).

He died on 19 July 1766 in Hatton Garden.¹⁴

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1. Du Cane, p. 44; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/921, f. 292 (1766): Will of Christopher Burrow.
 2. C.f. Appendix 2.
 3. G.M., vol. 43 (1773), p. 154.
 4. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/601, f. 2 (1725): Will of Thomas Burrow.
 5. A John Burrow was listed as a woollen draper in Lombard Street, London, in 1736 (The Directory ... of Eminent Traders ... (London, 1736), p. 11).
 6. G.M., vol. 59, pt. 1 (1789), pp. 88-89; I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/67, p. 278.
 7. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/67, p. 223.
 8. Fort William-India House Correspondence, vol. 1, p. 21.
 9. Burrow and Peter Godfrey (q.v.) received remittances from Messrs. Fytche, Burrow and Orme of Bengal (Fort William-India House Correspondence, vol. 1, p. 386).
 10. Fort William-India House Correspondence, vol. 2, p. 292.
 11. Sutherland (1), p. 71, n. 3.
 12. Holwell, p. 167.
 13. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/13, p. 88.
 14. G.M., vol. 36 (1766), p. 343.
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BURROW, Robert (? -1793)¹

of Hatton Garden, London and of Starburrow Castle, Surrey.

Director of the East India Company 1762-64.

b., ?, s. of Christopher Burrow (q.v.), by Anne, da.
of Abraham Lethieullier; m. Maria, formerly w. of
___ Butler; ls. 2

Burrow is listed in the London directories at the same address as his father.³ He received his £2,000 stock qualification from Christopher Burrow in March 1762,⁴ and was elected to the Direction that year. His political standpoint became evident at the next election. He was 'double-listed' in April 1763,⁵ but, unlike his father, showed himself amenable to Sullivan's plans, by not opposing the selection of Spencer for the Bengal government.⁶

He was returned safely on Sullivan's 'House list' a year later,⁷ joining his leader in protesting at the unprecedented powers proposed for Clive's Bengal select committee.⁸ His steadfastness by Sullivan led to his eventual defeat as a member of the 'Proprietors' list' in 1765,⁹ when Francis Sykes wrote that he was 'thrown out'.¹⁰ He stood again with Sullivan in the following year, but with no more success.¹¹

He died at Starburrow Castle on 13 August 1793.¹²

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1. It would seem correct to identify him with the Robert Burrow who died at Starburrow Castle on 13 August 1793 (G.M., vol. 63, pt. 2 (1793), p. 471). Starburrow Castle was the seat of Sir James, brother of Christopher Burrow (q.v.).
 2. Du Cane, p. 44; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/921, f. 22 (1766): Will of Christopher Burrow; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1236, f. 457 (1793): Will of Robert Burrow.
 3. Kent's Directory ... (London, 1763), p. 24.
 4. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/13, p. 88.
 5. G.M., vol. 33 (1763), p. 199.
 6. I.O.L., Ct. Bk. B/79, p. 302; B/80, p. 25.

7. L.M., vol. 33 (1764), p. 215.
 8. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/80, p. 82.
 9. G.M., vol. 35 (1765), p. 195.
 10. B.L., Add. MSS., 29132, f. 276: Francis Sykes to Joseph Creswicke, 30 Sept. 1765.
 11. P.A., 7 April 1766.
 12. G.M., vol. 63, pt. 2 (1793), p. 471.
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CHAMBERS, Charles (? -1776)

of Harpur Street, and Wandsworth, London.

Director of the East India Company 1755-57, 1763-66, 1768.

m. ?, with 2 sons, Charles (q.v.), and John, a Company servant, and 1 da., Margaret, who m. Rev. John Crowther. 1

Chambers appears in the London directory for 1759 as a merchant of Charterhouse Square,² but had been engaged in supplying the Company's Indian settlements with wine from Madeira from at least as early as 1732.³ He was involved in a number of partnerships in Madeira, initially with William Rider (q.v.),⁴ and later with Richard Baker,⁵ brother of Sir William Baker, East India director. Chambers's will bequeathed to his son 'whatever may be recovered at Madeira of the Debts due to me arising from the several partnerships I have been Connected with ...'.⁶ His address in 1752 was still given as Madeira, but he returned soon after to become a director, and to settle in Charterhouse Square.⁷

He continued to hold wine contracts from the Company while a director, and fostered the career of his son in Bengal.⁸ In the first disputed election of the period, in 1758, he sided with John Payne (q.v.) against Sullivan, and was only narrowly defeated.⁹ By 1763, when Chambers recovered his seat in the Direction by

being 'double-listed',¹⁰ he was giving Sullivan his support. He did not oppose Spencer's appointment,¹¹ and seems to have acted with Sullivan until November 1764, when Clive's agent, John Walsh, claimed that he was one of three 'Converts'.¹²

Chambers continued to be 'double-listed' in Company elections, as in 1765, 1766 and 1768,¹³ but his leanings were to the existing majority of directors who were favourable to Clive. As a proprietor he lent his weight to the support of the directors in the face of opposition from Sullivan, and speculative elements of the General Court, over the question of limiting the Company's dividend by Act of Parliament in May 1767.¹⁴ With the victory of the Sullivan group in April 1769, Chambers failed to secure election.¹⁵

In his will he left East India and South Sea stock, but large amounts of money seem to have remained due to him from his past involvement in the Madeira wine trade.¹⁶ He died on 29 March 1776.¹⁷

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1. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1018, f. 170 (1776): Will of Charles Chambers.
 2. Kent's Directory ... (London, 1759), p. 24.
 3. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/62, p. 216.
 4. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/62, p. 216.
 5. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/67, p. 26.
 6. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1018, f. 170 (1776): Will of Charles Chambers.
 7. I.O.L., Stock Ledgers, L/AG/14/5/10, p. 106; L/AG/14/5/11, p. 107.
 8. I.O.L., Ct. Bks. B/74, p. 135; B/76, p. 356.
 9. I.O.L., Orme MSS., O.V. 293, p. 103: John Payne to Robert Orme, 30 Octr. 1758.
 10. G.M., vol. 33 (1763), p. 199.
 11. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/80, p. 25.

12. N.L.W., MS. 52, p. 42: John Walsh to Robert Clive, 22 Novr. 1764.
 13. L.M., vol. 34 (1765), p. 208; P.A., 7 April 1766; L.M., vol. 37 (1768), p. 226.
 14. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/257, p. 89.
 15. G.M., vol. 39 (1769), p. 211.
 16. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1018, f. 170 (1776): Will of Charles Chambers.
 17. G.M., vol. 46 (1776), p. 191.
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CHAMBERS, Charles (?)

of Madeira and of Harpur Street, London
 Director of the East India Company 1770, 1773.
 b., ?, s. of Charles Chambers (q.v.).¹

Chambers had been taken into his father's business by 1752, from which year the firm took the name of Chambers, Hiccox and Chambers.² Before this date he travelled regularly to Madeira with the Company's permission.³ He shared the same London address as his father until the latter's death in 1776, when he assumed full control of the business, and kept his contracts with the Company.⁴

He took up a £500 stock qualification from his father in February 1765,⁵ presumably to support him in the Company election. Following the 1767 election, he transferred £500 stock to Captain Christopher Burrows, a prominent supporter of Clive's majority in the Direction.⁶ He was elected to the Directorate himself in 1770, but, on trying to secure re-election two years later, was opposed by the 'Proprietors' list' because of his wine contracts, which made him too dependent on the directors' good will to take an independent line in any question. A

proprietor wrote to the Public Advertiser before the election:

Is it possible to hold a Contract from the Directors, and steer clear of Inconveniences ? Mr. Chambers may be, and I believe is a Gentleman without Reproach; but while he holds a Contract from his Brethren, and must have Favours to ask from them, he cannot account himself a free Agent among them. He is not equal among his Fellows. 7

The proprietors accepted the whole 'House list', with the exception of Chambers. Their choice in his place, George Dempster (q.v.), proved successful,⁸ while Chambers was more fortunate a year later, when he secured election.

By April 1774 Chambers was co-operating with his former adversaries, being chosen for the 'Proprietors' list',⁹ primarily it would seem as a result of being dropped by the Ministry's managers from the 'House list'. Charles Raymond, the ship's husband, and ally of the Government at the time, had been approached by Edmund Burke, through Lord Rockingham, to leave out Chambers's name.¹⁰ Chambers espoused Sullivan's cause wholeheartedly, promising him his support, if elected, in the next election.¹¹ His hostility to Government is confirmed by North's expressions of relief after the 1774 election on news of Chambers's defeat. North felt that he had been one of 'the most violent opposers of the interests of Government'.¹²

His date of death has not been ascertained.

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1. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1018, f. 170 (1776): Will of Charles Chambers.
 2. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/72, p. 8 (8 April 1752) seems to be the earliest reference to the partnership.
 3. I.O.L., Ct. Bks., B/67, p. 188; B/70, p. 163.
 4. Kent's Directory ... (London, 1778), p. 37.
 5. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/14, p. 125
 6. I.O.L., Orme MSS., O.V.J., p. 148: 'An Account of Transfers

of "East-India" stock which have been made since the Opening of the Books on the 9th of April, 1767'.

7. P.A., 8 April 1772.
 8. B.L., Add. MSS., 29133, f. 190: Alexander Hamilton to Warren Hastings, 25 July 1772. Though Chambers is not named specifically as Charles Chambers, junior, it is assumed that the reference is to him, and not to his father.
 9. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 17.
 10. Sheff. Cent. Lib., MS. R1-1484: Edmund Burke to Lord Rockingham, n.d.
 11. B.L., Add. MSS., 29134, f. 407: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 15 April 1774.
 12. Fortescue, p. 92: Lord North to the King, 14 April 1774.
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CHAUNCY, Richard (?1703-1760)

of Walbrook, London

Director of the East India Company 1737-40, 1742-45, 1747**-48*-49**-50*, 1752**-53*-54*.

b., (?) 23 Octr. 1703, eld. s. of Richard Chauncy, linen merchant, and mining adventurer; m. Elizabeth ____; 2s. 2da.. 1

As an East India director, Chauncy's importance lies in the period prior to 1754, when he had been chairman on three occasions. He had entered his father's linen business as a young man, and, on the latter's death in 1734, expanded it with the help of Continental connections.² At his death, he was noted as a 'Hamburgh merchant'.³ He supplied the Company with cloth for export, and was consequently associated with the representatives of this trade in the Direction. Chauncy was also involved in supplying the Company with gunpowder.⁴

His association with the Company's cloth suppliers led to the loss of his good name in 1754. As a member of the Committee of Buying of the previous year, he was implicated in the

Brice Fisher scandal. It was claimed that he had ordered a fellow committee member, Thomas Rous (q.v.), to agree to the purchase despite the pooriness of quality of the cloth.⁵

Chauncy's friends in the shipping and clothing interests in the Direction rallied to secure his acquittal, however. It was significant that Chauncy did not stand again for the Direction though he was not due to drop out by rotation for another year.

By 1757, Robert Clive, who had benefitted earlier from Chauncy's patronage, wrote that he was enjoying 'the Blessings of Peace & Retirement'.⁶ He died on 23 March 1760.⁷

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1. Cussans, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 153; Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 536; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/665, f. 104 (1734): Will of Richard Chauncy (senior); P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/861, f. 457 (1760): Will of Richard Chauncy.
 2. De Neufville MSS.: Correspondence between Richard Chauncy and Jan Isaac de Neufville passim.
 3. L.M., vol. 29 (1760), p. 667.
 4. Sutherland (2), p. 13 and n. 3.
 5. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/73, pp. 176-177.
 6. N.L.W., MS. 200, p. 43: Robert Clive to Richard Chauncy, 23 Feby. 1757.
 7. L.M., vol. 29 (1760), p. 667.
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CHEAP, Thomas (? -1794)

of Bedford Row, London.

Director of the East India Company Augt. 1777-78, 1780-83,
1785-88, 1790-93.

b., ?, eld. s. of George Cheap (Cheape), collector of customs in Prestonpans, by Mary, da. of Alexander Wedderburn, commissioner of excise for Scotland; m., 30 June 1763, in Inveresk, Grace, da. of John Stuart of Blairhall, by Anne, eld. da. of Francis, 7th. Earl of Moray; matric. arms, 10 July 1773. 1

His Majesty's Consul in Madeira 26 Feby. 1763-c. 1771.²

Director of the British Linen Bank 1776-1787.³

Cheap was a partner in the firm of Scott, Pringle and Cheap, wine merchants, and suppliers of madeira to the Company's Indian settlements.* Resident in Madeira by 1763, he combined his mercantile pursuits with the office of consul. He had influential connections in England through his family, most notably Alexander Wedderburn, his cousin, and future political patron. Wedderburn, who became Lord Loughborough in 1780, was Solicitor-General from 1771 to 1778, and Lord Chief Justice from 1780 to 1793.⁴

Having returned to England by 1772, Cheap determined to stand for the East India Direction. Despite tight Ministerial control in elections at the time, he entered the contest in April 1776 as a candidate in his own right, and, as was expected,⁵ failed to secure election. However, he had a powerful advocate in the Solicitor-General, and was elected in August, on the retirement of Rumbold (q.v.). In 1780 solid Government backing ensured his re-election.⁶

He became involved in the defence of his kinsman, General James Stuart, who had participated in the overthrow of Governor George Pigot of Madras. Andrew Stuart, the eminent lawyer, assured his brother that Cheap 'had shewn himself in the

whole course of your struggles, a Steady firm friend to whom I felt myself obliged on many occasions in the Course of your Affairs'.⁷ Stuart was eventually acquitted.

Though enjoying Government support, and in general taking a Ministerial line,⁸ Cheap was no slave of Administration. He supported the defenders of Warren Hastings, despite Government hostility, and despite being considered 'Highly adverse' to Sullivan,⁹ Hastings's most prominent supporter. Late in 1783, Cheap was elected by the General Court to a committee to defend the Company's rights, which seemed to be threatened by pending Parliamentary legislation.¹⁰ However, his patron, Loughborough, hoped to secure for him one of the proposed assistant commissionerships, which were to replace the Court of Directors, in Fox's Bill. He admitted responsibility to Fox for bringing Cheap over:

I am exceedingly anxious that the objection to my friend Meap [Cheap] should not appear of very great consequence to you, because I shall have otherwise to reproach myself with not having prevented his taking a step that he would not have done if he had not known that I was perfectly indifferent to all Indian politics at the time it happened. If there is any blame in his nomination I am willing to be charged with the whole of it, but I believe his name will not in general be unpopular, and I can answer perfectly to you for his discretion. 11

On the fall of the Fox-North Administration, Richard Atkinson (q.v.) recognised that Cheap could not be classed as an out and out enemy. He reported to Dundas:

Mr. Cheap - one of the last & I believe least contaminated with Mr. Fox's Bill. A Man of sound plain Parts & good Character who would not sacrifice the interests of the Company ... in strict friendship with Lord Loughborough. Whatever he previously promised, I should not hesitate to depend upon him implicitly, and I think him a valuable Director. 12

Cheap proved no more subservient under Pitt than under North, and took a firm line against Dundas over the King's regiments in 1788.¹³

He died on 22 December 1794.¹⁴

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1. Douglas, vol. 1, p. 575; S.M., vol. 25 (1763), p. 359; S.P., vol. 6, p. 325.
 2. From information provided by R.R. Mellor, Esq., of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London.
 3. Charles A. Malcolm, The History of the British Linen Bank (Edinburgh, 1950), p. 211.
 4. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 618.
 5. B.L., Add. MSS., 29137, f. 151: John Caillaud to Warren Hastings, 5 April 1776.
 6. Sutherland (1), pp. 347-348.
 7. N.L.S., MS. 8330, f. 161: Andrew Stuart to General James Stuart, 13 Feby. 1783.
 8. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. hist., c269, p. 27: Laurence Sullivan to Stephen Sullivan, 1778.
 9. Furber (1), p. 491: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 31 Jany. 1785.
 10. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/260, p. 226.
 11. Lord John Russell (ed.), Memorials and Correspondence of Charles James Fox (London, 1842-46), vol. 2, p. 217: Lord Loughborough to Charles James Fox, c. 21-23 Novr. 1783.
 12. Furber (1), p. 491: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 31 Jany. 1785.
 13. Auber, p. 441.
 14. G.M., vol. 64, pt. 2 (1794), p. 1296.
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COCKBURN, Sir James (1729-1804)

of Langton, Berwickshire and of Petersham, Surrey.

Director of the East India Company 1767-68, 1770-72.

b., 1729, 2nd. s. of William Cockburn, merchant of Ayton and Eyemouth, Berwickshire, by his cos., Frances, da. of Dr. James Cockburn, physician of Jamaica; m. (1), 31 March 1755, Mary, da. of Henry Douglas, merchant of London (d.v.p.); (2), 10 July 1769, Augusta Anne, da. of Ven. Francis Ayscough, Dean of Bristol; 5s. lda.; succ. his cos. as 8th. Bt., 30 April 1745.

M.P. for Linlithgow Burghs 9 Jany. 1772-1784. 1

As a young man Cockburn entered the London business of the wealthy Scots-West Indian merchant, Henry Douglas, his future father-in-law. After the Seven Years War, during which he was a commissary in Germany, he returned to London, and strengthened his links with Sir George Colebrooke (q.v.), whom he had known for some years. With his relative, John Stewart, and Colebrooke, he became involved in the purchase of West Indian plantations, and in East India politics.²

Cockburn presented himself as a candidate in the 1765 election of directors for the 'House list', but was rejected by the directors. He had been promised support by Thomas Rous (q.v.), but the opposition of Lord Holland and Sir Lawrence Dundas, a competitor for Government contracts with whom Cockburn was involved in a law suit, prevented his acceptance.³ He entered Sullivan's 'list' instead, but was defeated.⁴ As a proprietor, he voted with Colebrooke in support of the existing directors,⁵ and was eventually elected to the Direction with him in 1767. However, with the victory of the Sullivan group in 1769 he lost his seat.⁶

Through his patron, Colebrooke, who had purchased property in Scotland, Cockburn was returned to Parliament.⁷ When

the former became reconciled with Sullivan in 1770, Cockburn accompanied him. With both these men he was attacked in the Press for their choice of supervisors for the proposed commission to regulate affairs in India in 1772.⁸ When the critical state of the Company's finances became known that year, he was accused, with Colebrooke, of having deliberately concealed the true figures to facilitate his stock speculations.⁹ The Company's ledgers show that he made large purchases during 1771, and was able to sell over £10,000 worth during November and December of that year.¹⁰

In Parliament Cockburn was a steady supporter of Government, holding a contract to supply troops during the American War.¹¹ He was expected to have Ministerial backing as a member of the 'House list' for 1775,¹² when the repercussions of his dubious speculative activities had subsided, but his name was not included in the final selection. Through Stewart and Colebrooke, he became involved in Lauchlin Maclean's loans to the Nawab of Arcot. On Maclean's death in 1778, the project collapsed, and Cockburn was left in serious financial difficulties, despite his contracts, declaring himself bankrupt four years later.¹³ As late as 1792 Henry Dundas empowered Cockburn's son to proceed to Madras, in an attempt to recover the debts. Dundas felt that Cockburn had been 'the unfortunate dupe of others'.¹⁴

He died on 26 July 1804, seemingly in improved circumstances.¹⁵

1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 229.
 2. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 229.
 3. I.O.L., Home Misc. Ser., 808, f. 231: John Walsh to Robert Clive, 14 Feby. 1765; N.L.S., MS. 11010, f. 12: Sir James Cockburn to Gilber Elliot, 26 March 1765; Celebrooke, pt. 1, pp. 28-29.
 4. G.M., vol. 35 (1765), p. 195.
 5. E.g. over the directors' proposals for agreement with the Government in March 1767 (I.O.L., Gen. Ct. Mins., B/257, p. 43).
 6. G.M., vol. 39 (1769), p. 211.
 7. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 229.
 8. Maclean, p. 310.
 9. Sutherland (1), p. 228; B.L., Add. MSS., 29133, f. 534: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 28 April 1773.
 10. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/18, pp. 175, 194.
 11. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 229.
 12. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., C7/A, p. 71: 'Mr. Roberts' to Philip Francis, 23 Feby. 1775.
 13. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 230.
 14. Hist. MSS. Comm. Dropmore, vol. 2, pp. 297-298: Henry Dundas to Lord Grenville, 5 Augt. 1792.
 15. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 230.
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COLEBROOKE, Sir George (1729-1809)

of Gatton, Surrey.

Director of the East India Company 1767-68*-69**-70**, 1772**

b., 14 June 1729, 3rd. s. of James Colebrooke, London banker; educ., Leyden Univ.; m., 23 July 1754, Mary, da. and h. of Peter Gayner, of Antigua; 3s. 3da.; succ. bro., James, as 2nd. Bt., 10 May 1761.

M.P. for Arundel 1754-74.¹

Colebrooke began his career in the family banking firm in London, and, after the death of his father and brother, inherited 'a hundred & thirty Thousand Pounds, to which he added fifty Thousand more by his Marriage ...'.² Besides his banking concerns, he held Government contracts during the Seven Years War,³ and formed a 'society of speculators', in conjunction with John Stewart,⁴ brother-in-law of Cockburn (q.v.), and later to become Colebrooke's 'jackal'. He began to take an interest in Company affairs as stock prices rose with Clive's inflated figures about the future prosperity of Bengal. However, as a proprietor, he supported the directors in the General Court against the reckless demands of Sullivan's allies for increases in the dividend.⁵ Having established himself as an influential proprietor he was brought into the Direction in April 1767 to bolster the directors' defences against opposition within the Company, and against Ministerial attempts to force on the Company a charter designed to rob it of much of its supposed new wealth.⁶

Colebrooke had little respect for Rous (q.v.), the existing head of the Direction, and, though generally agreeing with the directors' stance in supporting Clive, could not condone Rous's apparently abject submission to Clive's every dictate. Colebrooke began to form an independent party within the Direction, but was careful not to endanger by dissension the unity

of the directors as a body in the face of Sullivan's onslaughts at elections.⁷ Thus, he co-operated with Clive and Ministerial directors, such as Robert Jones (q.v.), in 'splitting' large amounts of stock in preparation for the 1769 election.⁸

Soon after the election, attempts were made to bring about a reconciliation between Colebrooke and Sullivan, notably by Lord Rockingham,⁹ to enable the Company to resist more successfully attempted Government control. The two personalities were finally brought together by North for the good of the Company,¹⁰ though similar moves had been afoot for some time through the machinations of Stewart and Lauchlin Maclean.¹¹ Maclean hoped that the combined influence of both men would help secure an Indian appointment for him, whereby he might recover losses sustained after massive 'splitting' ventures during the 1769 election campaign, in which Sullivan was also involved. Sullivan wrote in May:

I look upon the whole that Mr. Maclean owes to be very secure, for (not to be mentioned) Sir George Colebrooke is pledged to send him to India to some lucrative post. 12

Attempts to send Maclean to India in 1772, as one of the proposed supervisors fell through with the collapse of the scheme.

Colebrooke was chairman in 1772, when the seriousness of the Company's financial situation was at last realised. He was accused of collusion in a scheme to conceal the true state of the Company to enable his speculative dealings on the stock market. He admitted later that he had entered 'another stock-jobbing plan' of Maclean's, not solely for personal gain, however, but to support Company stock which was being depressed by 'jobbers in the Alley'.¹³ He had been out of office in 1771, and,

on his return, had accepted at face value the inaccurate figures of the Company's accountant. He denied deliberately misleading the proprietors to his own advantage. In defence he wrote:

This is so fundamentally true, that any impartial person will acknowledge that in case I had adverted to the state of the cash of the Company as it would be probably within three months after my re-election, and in case I was disposed to be a jobber in stock, as much if not more was to be gotten by gaming for its inevitable fall, than could be expected by an unnatural rise. 14

Colebrooke did not again stand for the Direction. As a result of the failure of speculative attempts to corner the world market in certain raw materials he became bankrupt, leaving sums due to Sullivan, and to other Company connections. He fled to France, but was able to return by 1789 to live in 'moderate but comfortable circumstances'. He died on 5 August 1809.¹⁵

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1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 235.
 2. Katherine C. Balderstone (ed.), Thraliana: The Diary of Mrs. Hester Lynch Thrale (Oxford, 1951, 2nd. ed.), vol. 1, p. 334.
 3. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, pp. 235-236.
 4. Colebrooke, pt. 1, p. 49.
 5. Colebrooke, pt. 1, p. 111.
 6. Colebrooke, pt. 1, pp. 113-115.
 7. Colebrooke, pt. 1, pp. 134-135.
 8. Sutherland (3), p. 478.
 9. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. hist., d350, ff. 37-38: Lord Rockingham to Sir George Colebrooke, 11 June 1769; Sutherland (1), p. 194.
 10. Sutherland (1), pp. 203-204; Colebrooke, pt. 1, p. 199.
 11. Maclean, pp. 188, 207-208.
 12. Hist. MSS. Comm. Palk, p. 189: Laurence Sullivan to Robert Palk, 27 May 1772.
 13. Colebrooke, pt. 1, p. 203.
 14. Colebrooke, pt. 2, pp. 16-17.
 15. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 236.

CRABB BOULTON, Henry (c.1709-1773)

of Crosby Square, Bishopsgate and of Thorncroft, nr. Leatherhead in Surrey.

Director of the East India Company 1753-56, 1758-61, 1763-64*-65**, 1767-68**-70, 1772-73**.

b., c. 1709, s. of Hester Crabb, cos. of Richard Boulton, East India director, 1718-38, whose name he assumed in 1746; unm..

M.P. for Worcester 1754-8 Octr. 1773.¹

Boulton spent his early years as a clerk in the Company's offices in London, notably as paymaster, and clerk to the Shipping Committee from 1737 to 1757.² His uncle, and patron, Richard Boulton, a Company commander and later director, made him the main beneficiary of his will in 1746. He bequeathed to him all his property, which may have included his share in the Company's ship-building yards at Blackwall.³ Boulton's brother, Richard Crabb, was a prominent ship's husband, whose interests he served as a director, and regular member of the Shipping Committee, on his election in 1753.

By 1761 he was being noted as a 'Gentleman of good Interest in the Direction',⁴ He had been on good terms with Sullivan from at least as early as 1758,⁵ and became his active supporter.⁶ In the 1763 election he was 'double-listed', but was now 'tending towards Rous [q.v.]'.⁷ His move away from Sullivan would seem to have its origins in developments of the previous two years, and was perhaps rather towards Clive than Rous. From 1761 Boulton's fellow-Member of Parliament for Worcester was John Walsh, Clive's agent. Boulton enjoyed Clive's support in Worcester, and voted with him and Walsh against the peace treaty of December 1762, in the formulation of which Sullivan had played an important part.⁸ His name appears in a list of supporters

among Clive's papers, who were entrusted with stock before the 1763 election.⁹

By February of the following year he had cast aside any remaining ties with Sullivan, and opposed him in the question of Spencer's Bengal appointment.¹⁰ He was soon co-operating with the followers of Grenville and Clive in preparation for Clive's attempt to secure the Bengal government, and overthrow Sullivan in the April election.¹¹ He created nine 'split' votes for the party,¹² and, after the election, was chosen deputy chairman after the withdrawal of Sullivan and his supporters.

Boulton was considered as a candidate for the Company chair in 1765 by Clive's group, though John Walsh had reservations about his selection because of his apparent unpopularity with a number of directors.¹³ However, Walsh was able to report more optimistically in December:

Boulton rises on him [Rous] prodigiously in short has taken the intire lead, and acquits himself with more address and Vigour than I expected from him: how long he will be able to maintain the lead I cannot say; but he has this Security for him, that though several of the Directors think he carries things with too high a hand, there is not one of them has the necessary Talents to supplant him. 14

In Parliament he continued to support Clive's interests. When an enquiry into India affairs was proposed in December 1766, Boulton, as a director, was not in favour, but 'owned that the Company could not govern their servants, nor could Clive go on without the interposition of Government'.¹⁵

Though absent from the Direction in 1771, he was accused of participation in Colebrooke's stock 'jobbing' activities, which contributed to the Company's financial crisis. He was said to have 'purchased largely' in India stock,¹⁶ and in the contemporary Press had the reputation of being a speculator.¹⁷

With Clive he joined the Government forces against Sullivan's 'House list' in April 1773. Sullivan's ally, Robert Palk, told Hastings:

... the great Contest is between Boulton & Sullivan the first assisted by Administration, w^{ch} I apprehend will be too much for our Friend, especially as all Indians are on the same Side. 18

Following Sullivan's defeat, and Colebrooke's bankruptcy, Boulton was the obvious choice for chairman, given his Ministerial leanings, and his great experience as a director.

He died on 8 October 1773.¹⁹

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1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 267.
 2. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 267.
 3. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 267; Henry Green and Robert Wigram, Chronicles of Blackwall Yard (London, 1881), pt. 1, p. 24. Henry [?Crabb] Boulton sold the Blackwall Yard estate to the ship-builder, John Perry, in 1779 (Green and Wigram, op. cit., p. 31).
 4. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., D691, p. 6: George Gray to George Gray (junior), 16 Feby. 1761.
 5. Sutherland (1), p. 79.
 6. Sutherland (1), p. 109.
 7. Sutherland (1), p. 109.
 8. Cyril H. Philips, 'Clive in the English Political World, 1761-64', B.S.O.A.S., vol. 12 (1948), pp. 697, 699.
 9. N.L.W., MS. 83, pp. 11-14.
 10. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/79, p. 302.
 11. Jucker, p. 273: Joseph Salvador to Charles Jenkinson, 16 March 1764.
 12. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/14, p. 97.
 13. N.L.W., MS. 52, pp. 43-44: John Walsh to Robert Clive, 22 Novr. 1764.
 14. I.O.L., Home Misc. Ser., 808, ff. 262-263: John Walsh to Robert Clive, 13 Decr. 1765.
 15. Quoted in Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 267.
 16. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, pp. 267-268; B.L., Add. MSS., 29133, f. 534: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 28 April 1773.
 17. C.f. issues of the Public Advertiser in the week preceding

the election of April 1773.

18. Quoted in Sutherland (1), p. 246.

19. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 268.

CREED, Sir James (c.1695-1762)

of East Greenwich, Kent.

Director of the East India Company 1749, 1755-58, 1761.

b., c. 1695; m. (1) ?; 1da.; (2), July 1725,
Mary, da. of Sir Henry Hankey, banker and alderman;
2s. 3da.; Kt., 21 Feby. 1744.

M.P. for Canterbury 1754-61.¹

Creed, described as a lead merchant,² first entered the East India Direction in 1749. He took an outspoken part against his fellow-directors in supporting demands from the proprietors for an investigation of the Company's handling of the defence of the Carnatic during the recent war with the French,³ and, probably as a consequence, was not re-elected.

In the period after 1755 he invested heavily in Government stock with other City merchants.⁴ As a Company director he may have been connected with the cloth suppliers. He was noted as a 'haberdasher' in 1750,⁵ and, in January of that year, his eldest daughter married the Blackwell Hall factor, John Fisher.⁶ He supported the 'old' party of directors round Payne (q.v.) against Sullivan, and his absence from the Committee of Correspondence in 1757 allowed Sullivan to end Holwell's hopes of succeeding to the Bengal government.⁷ Not unnaturally he was elected in 1758 as a member of the 'House list'.⁸

He died on 7 February 1762.⁹

1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 275; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/872, f. 44 (1762): Will of Sir James Creed.
 2. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 275.
 3. Sutherland (1), pp. 40-41.
 4. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 275.
 5. Beaven, vol. 1, p. 203.
 6. G.M., vol. 20 (1750), p. 43.
 7. Holwell, p. 156.
 8. P.A., 4 April 1758.
 9. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 275.
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CRESWICKE, Joseph (bapt.1702-1772)

of Boswell Court, Carey Street, London and of Moreton-in-Marsh,
Gloucestershire.

Director of the East India Company 1765-68.

bapt., 19 Jany. 1702, s. of Henry Creswicke, of Moreton-in-Marsh, Gloucestershire; m. Elizabeth ____;
ls. 3da.. 1

J.P. in Gloucestershire at the time of his death.²

Creswicke left the Gloucestershire home of his family, and joined the Custom House in London, where his elder brother, John, was already employed.³ By 1743 he was examiner of the outport books, and, in 1766, was noted as being in the Receiver General's office.⁴ The Creswicke and Hastings families were connected by marriage, and, on the death of Warren Hastings's guardian, Howard Hastings, also of the Customs Office, Creswicke assumed guardianship.⁵ He stood surety for Hastings on his appointment to a Company writership in 1749.⁶

It seems most likely that, as a Government official, Creswicke was brought into the Direction in 1765, as a member of the 'House list',⁷ by Grenville's managers. His correspondence with

Francis Sykes, a Company servant in Bengal, whose fortunes were 'intimately connected with those of Clive',⁸ shows that he remained a supporter of Clive's majority throughout his four years as a director.⁹ Creswicke's dealings in India stock, and those of his family, confirm this conclusion. His son, Henry Creswicke, received a £500 qualification from Crabb Boulton (q.v.) in August 1768, presumably in preparation for the forthcoming April election.¹⁰

As a director Creswicke represented Sykes's interests, and co-operated with him in trying to untangle Hastings's somewhat jumbled financial affairs. Sykes advised Creswicke of events in India, and, anticipating a rise in stock prices when word of Clive's assumption of the diwani reached England, told him that he had 'nothing to do but buy Stock as fast as possible'.¹¹ In March 1767 Sykes appointed Creswicke and Hastings as his English attorneys.¹²

Creswicke did not stand for re-election in 1769, and, by July 1771, had sold off all his India stock.¹³ He died on 11 June 1772, and was buried in Moreton-in-Marsh.¹⁴

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1. Times Literary Supplement, 7 Octr. 1929, p. 674; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/979, f. 250 (1772): Will of Joseph Creswicke; Sir William Foster, John Company (London, 1926), pp. 216, 218.
 2. G.M., vol. 42 (1772), p. 342.
 3. Times Literary Supplement, loc. cit..
 4. Foster, op. cit., p. 217.
 5. ibid..
 6. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/70, p. 542.
 7. G.M., vol. 35 (1765), p. 145.
 8. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 514.
 9. B.L., Add. MSS., 29132, ff. 276, 283, 312-313, 314-315, 327,

- 328-329: letters of Sykes to Creswicke; e.g. f. 327, 5 Feby. 1768: 'I sincerely congratulate you on the Victory obtained last April. I hope Affairs will now remain quiet for some time ...'.
10. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/16, p. 158. The stock was returned to Crabb Boulton on 3 May 1771 (I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/16, p. 156).
 11. B.L., Add. MSS., 29132, f. 276: Francis Sykes to Joseph Creswicke, 30 Sept. 1765.
 12. B.L., Add. MSS., 29132, ff. 314-315: Francis Sykes to Joseph Creswicke, 15 March 1767.
 13. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/18, p. 155.
 14. G.M., vol. 42 (1772), p. 342; Foster, op. cit., p. 219.
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CRUTTENDEN, Edward Holden (? -1771)

of John Street, London.

Director of the East India Company 1765-68, 1770-71.

b., ?, s. of Robert Cruttenden, London gentleman;
m., 7 April 1746, in Fort William, Bengal, Elizabeth,
(?) da. of James Jedderie, planter in Sumatra, by
his w., Elizabeth; 1s. 2da.. 1

Cruttenden was appointed as a writer in the Company service in December 1736, his sureties being Robert Cruttenden, gentleman of London, and Robert Surman, banker.² His family had other banking connections through the marriage of his sister to Robert Cliffe,³ to whom Cruttenden remitted much of his fortune in later years.⁴ His Indian career was coloured by controversy. He incurred the wrath of the directors on a number of occasions by putting his own interests before those of the Company. Having succeeded to a seat in the Bengal council in 1750, he was dismissed five years later for obtaining a contract to supply marine stores by fraudulent means.⁵ He remained in Bengal as a 'free merchant' for some years, but had returned to London by

February 1760, having amassed in Bengal alone an unremitted fortune of £50,000.⁶

He entered Company politics on the side of Rous (q.v.) and Clive, whom he had known in Bengal. He first appears in the General Court in March 1763, in defence of Rous's handling of the peace negotiations with the Ministry at the end of the war,⁷ and went on to play an active part in the April elections. He was made 'answerable' for the votes of nine proprietors by Clive,⁸ while Robert Cliffe's banking firm 'split' £26,500 stock into voting units.⁹ Cruttenden stood on the 'Proprietors' list' with Clive, but was defeated.¹⁰

The 1764 election brought renewed efforts to oust Sullivan from power. Cruttenden helped convene a General Court to carry Clive's appointment to the Bengal government,¹¹ but was once more unsuccessful in his attempts to enter the Direction.¹² His chance came in the following year with Sullivan's defeat, when he came top of the poll.

As might be expected, he showed himself a supporter of Clive's party in the Direction, but as a wealthy 'nabob' with diverse financial interests, he did not neglect his own affairs. During 1768 he used his influence to reverse an earlier decision of the directors which had prevented his obtaining bills on the Company to remit the remainder of his Bengal fortune.¹³ He also had a number of shipping concerns, both in Bengal, where he had been master attendant of marine in 1753,¹⁴ and in London, being the 'principal owner' of the Cruttenden Indiaman 'and other vessells of the Company'.¹⁵ His will states that he was 'an Owner in Several E.I. Ships and also at Rep.^a on many

of them'. One of his executors was John Durand, the influential ship's husband.¹⁶

During the last year of his directorship he was said to have been a candidate for the vacant Bombay government.¹⁷

He died on 19 June 1771.¹⁸

1. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/969, f. 290 (1771): Will of Edward Holden Cruttenden; I.O.L., Bengal Ecclesiastical Records, N1/1, pt. 1, f. 310; I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/59, p. 358. The sources for a re-construction of Cruttenden's family background are both diverse and contradictory, but the present information is based on literature about his relative, Robert Potts, a Company servant in Bengal. The identification of Robert Cruttenden, senior, as his father proved to be in agreement with most of the sources (E.H. Humphris, 'Bob Pott', B.P.P., vol. 51 (April-June 1936), pp. 69-104; 'Editor's Note Book', B.P.P., vol. 24 (Jany.-June 1925), p. 236; 'Sir Joshua's Model. The Story of Emily Warren and Robert Pott', B.P.P., vol. 29 (Jany.-June 1923), p. 113; Alfred Spencer (ed.), Memoirs of William Hickey (London, n.d., 3rd. ed.), vol. 4, p. 491).
2. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/64, pp. 206, 212.
3. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/969, f. 290 (1771): Will of Edward Holden Cruttenden.
4. Fort William-India House Correspondence, vol. 1, pp. 252, 285, 326 seq..
5. Fort William-India House Correspondence, vol. 1, pp. 348; 75-76, 109.
6. N.L.W., MS. 805: Edward Holden Cruttenden to Robert Clive, 16 Novr. 1757.
7. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/256, p. 278.
8. N.L.W., MS. 83, p. 16.
9. Sutherland (1), p. 101.
10. L.M., vol. 32 (1763), p. 224.
11. Sutherland (1), p. 105.
12. L.M., vol. 33 (1764), p. 215.
13. Fort William-India House Correspondence, vol. 5, p. 158.
14. Fort William-India House Correspondence, vol. 1, p. 627.
15. Quoted from Hickey's Memoirs in Humphris, op. cit., p. 70.
16. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/969, f. 290 (1771): Will of Edward Holden Cruttenden. Durand was husband for the Cruttenden at this time (Hardy (1), p. 42).

17. B.L., Add. MSS., 29133, ff. 7-7^v: C.W. Egerton to Warren Hastings, 15 Jany. 1772.
18. G.M., vol. 41 (1771), p. 287.

CUMING, George (? -1787)

of New Broad Street, London.

Director of the East India Company 1764-67, 1769-72, Decr. 1773-76, 1779, 1785-d. 1787.

m. Susanna, da. of ___ Dun, by Elizabeth, da. of Robert Hume, of Ayton, Berwick, and sis. of Sir Abraham and Alexander Hume, East India proprietors and ship-owners; 2s. lda.. 1

Cuming commanded the Royal Duke Indiaman from 1747, one of the vessel's owners being his wife's uncle, Sir Abraham Hume, the influential ship's husband.² He made three voyages to the East before resigning his command in 1759.³ Alexander Hume was a friend of Clive,⁴ and Cuming seems to have followed him in taking a similar line of conduct. He stood unsuccessfully with Clive in the 'Proprietors' list' of April 1763, but was elected in the following year.⁵ He corresponded regularly with Clive during the 1760's, while the latter was in Bengal, and disapproved of a scheme to bring home surplus Bengal revenues in specie, since Clive had shown himself averse to the idea.⁶ He was thus not well-disposed towards Sullivan, and showed himself hostile to proposals to allow Governor Palk commission on the Madras revenues.⁷

Cuming's shipping connections gave him a broad base of support. He was 'double-listed' in 1767 and 1769, and generally received a large number of votes in elections.⁸ In the Shipping Committee, on which he sat continuously from 1764, he

'shone perhaps unrivalled' and enjoyed a reputation 'as a Rock of Honesty, against which the Billows of Corruption might beat in vain'.⁹

He was put forward by the directors as one of their candidates for the proposed supervisory commission for India in 1772, until Government opposition helped block the plan.¹⁰ Cuming seems to have been hostile to Administration at this time. When he stood for a vacancy in the Direction in November 1773, he was defeated by Manship (q.v.), who had Ministerial support.¹¹ It was as a member of the anti-Ministerial 'Proprietors' list' that he achieved election in the following April.¹²

By 1776 he was considered to be taking the line of Administration, as was his wife's cousin, Sir Abraham Hume, son of the husband, in Parliament.¹³ Cuming's refusal to acquiesce in Hastings's recall was a surprise to the governor-general's party.¹⁴ However, Sullivan continued to class him as hostile.¹⁵ Cuming voted against Sullivan's attempts to get his son 'a premature seat in Council' in Madras, and against Sullivan's candidacy for a chair in 1780.¹⁶

In 1780 the Madras government fell vacant. Cuming offered himself as a candidate for the suggested governing commission, and, when this idea was dropped, for the governorship itself. In this he incurred the wrath of those supporting the pretensions of Madras servants of long standing.¹⁷ Following Macartney's appointment, Cuming turned his attention to Bengal, proposing himself as a supreme councillor in December. However, he withdrew after only eleven days.¹⁸

He seems now to have given up any hope of returning to the

East. When the Fox-North Coalition took office, he accepted Fox's nomination as an assistant commissioner. He had renounced his support for Hastings by September 1782, and, with other diehard followers of Fox, stood in April 1784 on the 'House list' against the combined might of the proprietors and the newly established Pitt Ministry.¹⁹

He was re-elected in 1785, indicating the continuance of his shipping connections by participating in the debate on freight charges in June 1786.²⁰ He died on 9 November 1787 in New Broad Street, London.²¹

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1. G.M., vol. 57 (1787), p. 1031; Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, pp. 652-3; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1158, f. 491 (1787): Will of George Cuming; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/912, f. 334 (1765): Will of Alexander Hume.
 2. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/71, p. 640;
 3. I.O.L., Mar. Rec. Cat., pp. 31, 34, 36; I.O.L., Mar. Misc., 651, p. 1.
 4. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 653. Cuming retained his connections with the Humes, and was named as an executor in Alexander Hume's will (P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/912, f. 334 (1765): Will of Alexander Hume).
 5. L.M., vol. 32 (1763), p. 224; 33 (1764), p. 215.
 6. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/83, pp. 354, 437.
 7. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/80, p. 443.
 8. L.M., vols. 36 (1767), p. 200; 38 (1769), p. 218.
 9. Among the papers of Claud Russell (I.O.L., MSS. Eur. E276) is a letter headed: 'To the Independent Proprietors of East India Stock', 'Crutched Friars 2^d Nov^r 1780', and signed, 'An old & independent Proprietor'. In a review of the candidates for the Madras government, the writer deals with 'G___e C___s' [George Cuming (s)].
 10. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/258, p. 55.
 11. Forrest, vol. 2, p. 381: Lord North to Robert Clive, 9 Novr. 1773. Forrest dated the letter to 1771.
 12. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 17.
 13. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 652.
 14. Sutherland (1), pp. 308, 309 and n. 1.

15. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. hist., c269, p. 27: Laurence Sullivan to Stephen Sullivan, [1778].
 16. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., E276, letter headed: 'To the Proprietors of East India Stock'; B.L., Add. MSS., 29145, f. 326^v: John Woodhouse to Warren Hastings, 1 Augt. 1780.
 17. Lucy S. Sutherland, 'Lord Macartney's appointment as Governor of Madras, 1780: The Treasury in East India Company elections', E.H.R., vol. 90 (1975), p. 527, n. 5: Sir Abraham Hume to Sir George Macartney, 25 Augt. 1780; I.O.L., MSS. Eur., E276, letter headed: 'To the Proprietors of East India Stock'.
 18. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/96, pp. 435, 458.
 19. B.L., Add. MSS., 29156, f. 126^v: John Scott to Warren Hastings, 26 Septr. 1782: '... M^r. Cuming, a stupid old Director, told Sir Francis Sykes, that he would support you no longer ...'.
 20. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/261, p. 26.
 21. G.M., vol. 57 (1787), p. 1031.
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CUST, Peregrine (1723-1785)

of Leadenhall Street, London and of Wanstead, Essex.

Director of the East India Company 1767-68-69*.

bapt., 19 May 1723, 4th. s. of Sir Richard Cust,
2nd. Bt., M.P.; educ., Grantham grammar school;
unm..

M.P. for Bishop's Castle 1761-68; New Shoreham 1768-74;
Ilchester 1774-4 Decr. 1775, 1780-2 Jany. 1785; Grantham
20 March 1776-1780. 1

Cust was a Government contractor, firstly under Bute, and then under Grenville, when he made his first appearance in Company affairs.² As a staunch Government supporter in Parliament, and in the City, with his partner, Robert Jones (q.v.), he was considered as a possible candidate for the Direction, and for a chair, by the Ministry's managers in 1764.³ He took a prominent part in General Court debates during 1766 and 1767 in defence of the directors over the charter negotiations, and in preventing reckless increases in the dividend.⁴ On his election to the Direction, he continued this support, taking the Company's part with Colebrooke (q.v.) in the Commons.⁵

Cust was deputy chairman to Colebrooke in 1769, and was suspected of having been involved in the latter's stock 'jobbing' activities about this time.⁶ He had been described previously as being 'more properly a stock-jobber than a merchant', and he was certainly dealing in Bank of England stock while an East India director.⁷ He was acting closely with Colebrooke at the time, and showed himself in full agreement with the proposed commission for India, which would include members of both the Clive and Sullivan parties, so strengthening the unity of the Direction.⁸

By September 1769 he was desirous of standing down from the Direction, being 'tired of conflicts'.⁹ In later years he

continued to take an interest in Company affairs, and attended meetings between Ministerial representatives and directors, to organise a strategy for the 1774 election.¹⁰ During 1780 he spoke against attempts in the General Court to pass a motion excluding Government contractors from membership of the Direction, a move directed against the Ministerial follower, Wombwell (q.v.).¹¹

He died on 2 January 1785.¹²

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1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 291.
 2. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 291.
 3. Jucker, p. 271: Joseph Salvador to Charles Jenkinson, 6 March 1764.
 4. S.R.O., MS. GD/224/296/3: Charles Townshend to Lord Northington, 30 Decr. 1766; I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/257, ff. 9, 45-46.
 5. Sir William Anson (ed.), Autobiography and Political Correspondence of Augustus Henry, third Duke of Grafton (London, 1898), p. 178: Thomas Bradshaw to Lord Grafton, 14 May. 1767.
 6. Parkes and Merivale, vol. 2, p. 46: Private memorandum, April 1776.
 7. The opinion of John Wilkes, as quoted in George Nobbe, The North Briton: a Study in Political Propaganda (New York, 1939), p. 191; Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 292.
 8. Colebrooke, pt. 1, p. 146.
 9. Quoted in Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 292.
 10. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 5.
 11. G.M., vol. 50 (1780), p. 198.
 12. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 292.
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CUTTS, Charles (? -c.1771)

of Arundel Street, London and of Epsom, Surrey.

Director of the East India Company 1749-52, 1758-61, 1763-66.
unm.¹

Cutts's interests in the East India Company prior to the 1760's are obscure. However, it is known that he was involved with other directors in ships managed by the husband, Samuel Braund.² He also sat regularly on the Company's Shipping Committee from 1758. In April 1763 he was 'double-listed',³ probably as a result of his seniority.

He soon showed himself a follower of the party in the Direction which was favourable to Rous (q.v.) and Clive. He opposed Sullivan over Spencer's Bengal appointment, and, in March 1765, over Palk's plan to receive a commission on the Madras revenues.⁴ Cutts's allegiances did not change in his remaining years as a director, being elected on the directors' 'House list' in 1765.⁵ He continued to support the directors in the General Court after 1766, finally selling off his stock in April 1767.⁶

He died about 1771.

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1. Note of Cutts's death does not appear in Musgrave. His will, proved on 20 April 1771 (P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/966, f. 148 (1771): Will of Charles Cutts), refers to his unmarried sisters, Susanna and Mary, who had lived with him, and the latter of whom was named executrix.
 2. Sutherland (2), p. 117.
 3. G.M., vol. 33 (1763), p. 199.
 4. I.O.L., Ct. Bks., B/79, p. 302; B/80, p. 443.
 5. G.M., vol. 35 (1765), p. 145.
 6. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/257, pp. 89-90, 94; I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/16, p. 200.
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DARELL, Sir Lionel (1742-1803)

of Richmond Hall, Surrey.

Director of the East India Company 1780-83, 1785-88, 1790-93,
1795-98, 1800-d. 1803.

b., 25 Septr. 1742, in Lisbon, 1st. s. of Lionel Darell, of Holborn, by Honoria, da. of Humphrey Hardwicke, merchant and British vice-consul in Lisbon; m., 30 July 1766, Isabella (b., 19 Novr. 1737, in Madras), da. of Timothy Tullie (q.v.); 1s. 5da.; cr. Bt., 12 May 1795.

M.P. for Hedon 1784-1802.¹

In the year after his marriage to Tullie's daughter, Darell applied to the Company for a post in India.² He was appointed sub-accountant in Fort William, with the rank of senior merchant, and proceeded there in 1768.³ He soon entered a trading partnership with George Vansittart, brother of the director (q.v.), while enjoying a good reputation with the directors for the high standard of his accountancy.⁴

He returned to England in 1775, having made his fortune, the extent of which was demonstrated by his dealings in East India stock. He began purchasing in August 1775, and, by September 1778, held £26,000 worth.⁵ He entered Company politics 'United with the Bengal People, of which number he [was] ... one, and from that Interest only supporting Sullivan'.⁶ Thus he acted with Sullivan in the matter of Hastings's continuance in India, but could not be depended upon in every matter. Darell seemed to have deserted Sullivan in early 1782, but recorded his dissent later in the year to the decision to recall Hastings.⁷

He followed the Hastings party into the struggle to overthrow the Fox-North Ministry, and was appointed to the General Court committee set up to defend the Company against Fox's Bill.⁸ He was subsequently thanked by the proprietors for his

part in the Bill's defeat.⁹ His wealth and good relations with Atkinson (q.v.) recommended him to John Robinson, now acting with Pitt, and, after an expensive contest, was returned to Parliament for Hedon on Pitt's interest.¹⁰

He was re-elected to the Direction with Sullivan's support in 1785,¹¹ but, in later years, was forced to court Dundas's favour.¹²

He died on 30 October 1803.¹³

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1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 299; I.O.L., Madras Ecclesiastical Returns, N/2/1, f. 327.
 2. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/83, p. 380.
 3. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/83, pp. 470, 504.
 4. Hist. MSS. Comm. Palk, p. 92: George Vansittart to Robert Palk, 5 Jany. 1769; Fort William-India House Correspondence, vol. 6, pp. 41, 106.
 5. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/20, pp. 212-213.
 6. Furber (1), p. 491: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 31 Jany. 1785. For the older connections of the Tullies and Vansittarts with Sullivan, c.f. Timothy Tullie and Henry Vansittart (qq.v.).
 7. B.L., Add. MSS., 29152, f. 336: John Scott to Warren Hastings, 25 Jany. 1782: 'Would you believe it. That Wretch Darell, has joined M^r. Sullivan's Opponents'.; I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/98, p. 541.
 8. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/260, p. 226.
 9. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/260, p. 302.
 10. Furber (1), p. 491: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 31 Jany. 1785; Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 299.
 11. Philips (1), p. 44.
 12. S.R.O., MS. GD/51/3/552, f. 246: Lionel Darell to Henry Dundas, 8 March 1795.
 13. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 299.
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DEMPSTER, George (1732-1818)

of Dunnichen, Fife.

Director of the East India Company 1769, 1772.

b., 8 Decr. 1732, 1st. s. of John Dempster of Dunnichen, merchant of Dundee, by his 1st. w., Isobel Ogilvie; educ. at Dundee grammar school, St. Andrew's Univ., Edinburgh Univ., Academie royale, Brussels; m., 24 Sept. 1774, Rose, da. of Richard Hemming, of Jamaica; d.s.p. 1

M.P. for Perth Burghs 1761-68; 4 April 1769-1790.

Dempster, a lawyer and man of letters, became an East India proprietor in November 1763, and was drawn into the General Court debates through his friends, the Johnstones.² With George Johnstone (q.v.) he was concerned to defend the interests of another member of that family, John Johnstone, a Company servant in Bengal, whose dubious activities stood to be revealed by Clive's proposed select committee.³ In opposing Clive, Dempster found common ground with Laurence Sullivan, and stood on the 'Proprietors' list' in April 1765.⁴

In Parliament he followed Lord Rockingham, and, when the latter's Ministry fell, acted as intermediary between him and Sullivan in concerting opposition to the Chatham Government's plans to force on the Company a demanding charter agreement. Dempster supported Sullivan's terms, thinking that those put forward by the directors would lead to the loss of the Company's independence.⁵ He was also held largely responsible for the call for a higher dividend,⁶ which was sought particularly by speculative elements in the General Court, including the Johnstones. Dempster was in debt at the time, was dealing in Dutch East India stock,⁷ and may well have been engaged in similar activities in London.

He carried his opposition more directly against Clive in

Consequently though elected to the Direction in 1772 as the popular choice of the proprietors, against the 'House list', he resigned early in 1773 to give himself more freedom to oppose Government plans for the Company.¹⁴

Henceforth, he joined the Duke of Richmond and George Johnstone in attacking North's regulating legislation, being particularly hostile to the provisions reinforcing the power of the governor-general, which he felt had 'occasioned the despotism, the anarchy and the peculations which have hitherto prevail'd in Bengal'.¹⁵ He stood against the Ministerial 'lists' of 1773 and 1774, but was not re-elected.¹⁶

He died on 13 February 1818.¹⁷

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1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 313.
 2. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/13, p. 180.
 3. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/256, p. 325; Davies, p. 369.
 4. G.M., vol. 35 (1765), p. 195.
 5. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 314.
 6. N.L.W., MS. 52, pp. 36-37: Richard Clive to Robert Clive, 24 Novr. 1766.
 7. James Fergusson (ed.), Letters of George Dempster to Sir Adam Fergusson, 1758-1813 (?, 1934), p. 62: George Dempster to Sir Adam Fergusson, 26 July 1766.
 8. Malcolm, vol. 3, pp. 201-203.
 9. L.M., vol. 36 (1767), p. 200.
 10. Maclean, pp. 224-225, 228.
 11. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, pp. 314-315.
 12. Copeland, vol. 2, pp. 106-107: Edmund Burke to Lord Rockingham. 6 Novr. 1769.
 13. Copeland, vol. 2, pp. 322-323: George Dempster to Edmund Burke, 4 Augt. 1772.
 14. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 315.
 15. Fergusson, op. cit., p. 81: George Dempster to Sir Adam Fergusson, 31 Jany. 1774.
 16. Olson, p. 160, n. 1; G.M., vol. 44 (1774), p. 187.
 17. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 317.

March 1767 by doing all in his power to obstruct attempts to continue Clive's jagir for a further ten years.⁸ Though standing on the 'Proprietors' list' that year,⁹ Dempster did not secure election until 1769, when there is an indication that he played a part in winning over his friends, the Johnstones, at the last minute, a move which swung the election Sullivan's way.¹⁰ His opposition to Clive, and to the directors, however, almost led to the loss of his Parliamentary seat, when the Clivite, Robert Mackintosh, was sent against him, and, only after an expensive contest with legal complications, was Dempster returned, greatly impoverished.¹¹

As the election of 1770 approached, Dempster's position became awkward following Sullivan's reconciliation with Grafton, to whom Rockingham was opposed in Parliament. Edmund Burke reported to Rockingham:

He [Dempster] thought as I do about Sullivan's coalition; He told him, that it should make no difference in his line in the India house; that there, he would as firmly stand by him as he would continue to oppose his new friends in Parliament. That his political connexions was with your Lordship only, and would always be so; but that if Mr. Sul. should find that course of Conduct prejudicial to his interests in Leadenhall Street, that he would at an hour's notice disqualify for the Directorship. 12

Though generally following Rockingham in the Commons, Dempster enjoyed a reputation for standing by principle, rather than by party. Thus, he told a friend that he preferred in Company matters to 'act from my own sentiments, with the purity of which I am satisfied, than adopt those of others whose sincerity I suspect'.¹³ He had been an exponent of the scheme to send to India a supervisory commission to reform the abuses of Company servants, but the plan was blocked by the Ministry.

DETHICK, Thomas (? -c.1774)

of John Street, London and of Rockingham Hall, Worcestershire.
Director of the East India Company 1772.

b., ?, poss. member of the Dethick family of Blackwall, London; m. Elizabeth _____. 1

Dethick may have been a scion of the family of that name which owned properties in the Blackwall area of London. One Henry Dethick had sold land to the Company in the late seventeenth century to provide facilities for ship-building.² Dethick himself had a marine background, commanding the Griffin India-man on four voyages to the East from 1748,³ but lost her in the China seas.⁴ He made one more voyage to India, as captain of the Talbot,⁵ selling his command, as was customary, on his return in 1766.⁶

He had powerful connections in the shipping world: Sir Charles Raymond was husband for the Talbot,⁷ while John Raymond (q.v.) replaced Samuel Hough, Sullivan's henchman, as owner charter-party for the ship in March 1763.⁸ Dethick received £1,000 East India stock in February 1768 from John Moffatt,⁹ another influential ship-owner, and brother of Captain James Moffatt (q.v.), generally a supporter of Sullivan in the Direction. It seems likely, therefore, that through such common connections, Dethick would have been disposed in Sullivan's favour while a director.

He had died by January 1774.

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1. Note of Dethick's death does not appear in Musgrave. His will was proved on 11 Jany. 1774 (P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/994, f. 8 (1774): Will of Thomas Dethick).
 2. Green and Wigram, p. 21. Henry Dethick's will refers to a brother, Thomas Dethick (P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/495, f. 170

(1705): Will of Henry Dethick).

3. I.O.L., Mar. Rec. Cat., pp. 33-34, 36, 39.
4. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/78, p. 168.
5. I.O.L., Mar. Rec. Cat., p. 42.
6. Cotton, p. 187.
7. Hardy (1), p. 31
8. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/78, p. 323.
9. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/16, p. 228.

DEVAYNES, William (c.1730-1809)

of Dover Street, and Pall Mall, London.

Director of the East India Company 1770, 1772-75, 1777*-79*-80**, 1782-83*-84*-85**, 1787-88*-89**,-90*, 1792-93**,-94**,-95, 1797-1800, 1802-05.

b., c. 1730, 2nd. s. of John Devaynes, by Mary, o. surv. child of William Marker, City Remembrancer; m. (1) Jane Wintle; ls. lda.; (2), 3 Feby. 1806, Mary, da. of William Wileman; d.s.p..

Commissioner of the African Company 1772, 1776.

Director of the Globe Insurance Company.

M.P. for Barnstaple 1774-1780, 1784-1796, 1802-1806; Winchelsea 13 Decr. 1796-1802.¹

Devaynes, an important London merchant and banker of Huguenot background, held profitable Government contracts during the American War. He was therefore regarded as a supporter of Administration, in Parliament, and as a member of the Ministry's party in the Company, with his partners in the contracts, Wombwell and Wheler (qq.v.).² He failed to gain election to the Direction in 1769,³ but was brought in a year later. He was accepted as a candidate for the directors' choice of a supervisory commission in October 1772,⁴ and may already have had

mercantile experience abroad in earlier years.⁵

From 1777 Devaynes regularly held one of the Company chairs, not by virtue of ability, but rather through his adherence to Government, and a connection with Lord Sandwich.⁶ He was said to be 'perfectly tractable in the line of his own interest, and indifferent to power farther than it tends to promote that end. This gives the means of reconciling him to anything that is thought worth while to reconcile him to'.⁷

Through the efforts of James and John Macpherson, Sullivan was won over by Government, and chosen chairman, in 1780, with Devaynes as his deputy.⁸ He supported Sullivan's abortive plans for the Company's assumption of the Raja of Tanjore's revenues to cover his debts to the Company, which Edmund Burke described as the 'robbery attempted by Mr Sullivan and Mr Devaynes'.⁹ On the fall of North, Devaynes continued to co-operate with Sullivan, and, in 1783, was one of those thanked for their part in the defeat of Fox's India Bill.¹⁰ He was now looked upon as a member of the 'Old' party in Company politics,¹¹ which was generally in support of Hastings, and was now favouring the new Pitt Ministry.

The 'Old' party's dominance in the Company after Fox's fall in December 1783 allowed Sullivan to place Devaynes and Nathaniel Smith (qq.v.) in the chairs 'on the Express Condition of acting most confidentially with him'.¹² Sullivan, it was thought, expected Devaynes to be chairman in 1785, and to bring him in as his deputy. Pitt's hostility to Sullivan made such a prospect inimical to the Ministry, and so Devaynes was won over by Dundas promising to ensure his continuance as chairman in the subsequent year.¹³

By satisfying Devaynes's need for contracts it was hoped to retain his support for the Government. Though on poor terms with the other City leader in the Direction, Baring (q.v.), Devaynes generally voted with him in supporting Government.¹⁴ He did not oppose Dundas over the King's regiments in 1788,¹⁵ and showed himself favourable to a plan being put forward to allow the rejuvenated French East India Company freight space on Company ships (though in the latter case a French bribe facilitated his acquiescence).¹⁶

He died on 29 November 1809.¹⁷

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1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 319.
 2. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 319.
 3. G.M., vol. 39 (1769), p. 211.
 4. I.O.L., Gen. Ct. Mins., B/258, p. 55.
 5. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 319.
 6. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 319.
 7. Cyril H. Philips, 'The New East India Board and the Court of Directors, 1784', E.H.R., vol. 55 (1940), p. 445: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, [?June] 1784.
 8. B.L., Add. MSS., 29145, f. 299: John Macpherson to Warren Hastings, 6 July 1780. For the careers, and East Indian interests of the Macphersons, c.f. James N.M. Maclean, 'The early political careers of James "Fingal" Macpherson (1736-1796) and Sir John Macpherson, Bart. (1744-1821)' (Edinburgh Univ. Ph.D. thesis 1967).
 9. Copeland, vol. 4, p. 306: Edmund Burke to Charles Jenkinson, 2 Octr. 1780.
 10. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/260, p. 302.
 11. Sutherland (1), p. 378, n. 4.
 12. B.L., Add. MSS., 29163, f. 183^v: John Scott to Warren Hastings, 24 April 1784.
 13. Philips (1), pp. 43-44.
 14. Philips (1), p. 62.
 15. Auber, p. 441.
 16. Furber (2), p. 34.
 17. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 319.

DORRIEN, John (c.1714-1784)

of Billiter Square, London and of Great Berkhamsted,
Hertfordshire.

Director of the East India Company 1755-58, 1760-62*-63**.

b., c. 1714, s. of Frederick Dorrien, of Bush Lane,
London, merchant and broker, by Abneta Wolters; m.
Ann ____; 4s.. 1

Sheriff of Hertfordshire 1773.²

Dorrien was established as a merchant in Billiter Square by 1753, from where he carried on a business which extended to the Continent, though his importance in the City during the 1770's was a banker in partnership with John Anthony Rucker.³ He was linked through marital and commercial ties with the Anglo-Dutch banking families of Magens and Mello,⁴ while inheriting the Dutch contacts of his father, who had acted for a number of financial houses in Amsterdam in the purchase of stock on the London market.⁵ Dorrien himself seems to have spent some time in Holland before starting up his own business in London.⁶

In April 1758, during the first disputed election of the period, Dorrien objected to the inclusion of his name in Sullivan's 'list'.⁷ However, by 1762, his standpoint had changed. He was deputy chairman, and involved in negotiations with the Government over the proposed terms of peace with France. Clive, who had been excluded from any part of the discussions, wrote afterwards:

All the world knows the connection between Sullivan and Mr. Dorrien and that the latter took no step without the advice of Sullivan and of consequence that Mr. Sullivan knew from Dorrien everything that passed with the Committee when he was not present and consulted. 8

By seconding Sullivan and the Ministry in their wishes for a conciliatory treaty with the French. Dorrien was labelled as one of Lord Bute's 'creatures', and drawn into opposition to

Thomas Rous (q.v.), the other negotiator, who, like Clive, favoured a tougher line with the French.⁹

Dorrien was elected to the Direction in April 1763 on Sullivan's 'list', and, on his appointment as chairman, brought Sullivan in as his deputy.¹⁰ When Clive tried to arrange for the extension of his jagir for a further ten years, using George Grenville as an intermediary with the Company chairmen, Dorrien and Sullivan made little effort to encourage the directors to agree.¹¹ Both men became involved throughout the year in a Chancery suit brought against them by Clive.¹²

Dorrien stood down from the Direction during 1764 in rotation, but indicated by January 1765 that he would not be standing for re-election.¹³ He continued to play an active part in General Court debates until his death, but as a proprietor took a more independent line. In 1767 he was against any rash increase in the Company dividend, and voted with Sullivan's opponents in the Direction in this matter.¹⁴ He was also in favour of Government legislation to limit the dividend.¹⁵ He was considered as a candidate for the 'House list' drafted by the Ministry in 1774, but did not stand.¹⁶

He died, a wealthy banker, on 7 December 1784 in Great Berkhamsted.¹⁷

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1. Wagner Abstracts, DO.6, Dorrien family notes (Though Dorrien is not listed as one of Frederick Dorrien's sons, his will clearly indicates that this was the case); P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1124, f. 637 (1784); Will of John Dorrien; G.M., vol. 54, pt. 2 (1784), p. 957.
 2. G.M., vol. 43 (1773), p. 100.
 3. De Neufville MSS.: John Dorrien to Jan Isaac de Neufville, 21 Sept. 1753; Price, pp. 50-51; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1124, f. 637 (1784); Will of John Dorrien.

4. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1124, f. 637 (1784): Will of John Dorrien.
 5. Wilson, pp. 207, 210.
 6. De Neufville MSS.: John Dorrien to Jan Isaac de Neufville, 21 Septr. 1753.
 7. Sutherland (1), p. 71, n. 3.
 8. Quoted in Sutherland (1), p. 95.
 9. Quoted in Sutherland (1), p. 97.
 10. G.M., vol. 33 (1763), p. 199.
 11. Sutherland (1), pp. 114-115.
 12. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/79, pp. 72, 197.
 13. N.L.W., MS. 52, p. 49: John Walsh to Robert Clive, 12 Jany. 1765.
 14. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/257, pp. 94, 116.
 15. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/257, p. 102.
 16. E.U.L., MSS. Photo 1697, correspondence, 1766-74: Henry Strachey to Robert Clive, 29 March 1774 (postscript dated, 1 April 1774).
 17. G.M., vol. 54, pt. 2 (1784), p. 957.
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DRAKE, Roger (, -1762)

of Leadenhall Street, London and of Shirley, Surrey.

Director of the East India Company 1738-41, 1743-46, 1748-51*,
1753*-54**-55**-56, 1758*.

Uncle of Roger Drake, governor of Bengal, 1752-58;
m. Jane, da. of Charles Long, of Longville, Jamaica
and of Hurts Hall, Suffolk, by Jane, da. of Sir
William Beeston, governor of Jamaica; 3s.. 1

Director of the Royal Exchange Insurance Company.

Drake and his brother-in-law, Beeston Long, were partners in the firm, Drake and Long, merchants of Leadenhall Street.² As a City financier Drake subscribed to the Government loan of 1744,³ while, through his business in Leadenhall Street, he participated in the sugar trade with the West Indies.⁴ The firm may also have had interests in insurance, as both Drake and Long were directors of the Royal Exchange Insurance Company.

In Company affairs, of particular concern to Drake was the career of his nephew, Roger Drake, a Bengal writer of 1736.⁵ By 1756 Drake, junior, was governor of Bengal, and was accused of dereliction of duty when Fort William fell to the forces of Siraj-ud-daula. In the dispute that followed in London among the directors over the succession to the government, Drake joined the party led by John Payne (q.v.), who was advocating the appointment of Holwell. A letter from Holwell at this time shows that Drake's continuance in the Direction was of great importance to his interests.⁶ Payne and Drake had been on close terms for a number of years, and the latter had access to Payne's confidential correspondence with Company servants in India.⁷

Drake went on to support the Payne party against Sullivan during the 1758 election, and objected to the inclusion of his

name in the 'Proprietors' list'.⁸ He did not stand for the Direction after 1758, but died at Shirley, in Surrey, on 20 June 1762.⁹

1. B.Hist.C., vol. 2, p. 166; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/877, f. 292 (1762): Will of Roger Drake.
 2. A Complete Guide ... (London, 1744), p. 115.
 3. G.M., vol 14 (1744), p. 225.
 4. Guildhall, MS. 14280: 'Attorney's Letter Book. Jamaica Trade, 1762-3. Drake and Long, W. India Merchants, Leadenhall St.' passim.
 5. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/64, p. 212. His sureties were Roger Drake (q.v.) and Beeston Long.
 6. I.O.L., Orme MSS., O.V. 21, p. 18: Zephaniah Holwell to [John Payne (q.v.)], [? 17 March 1759].
 7. I.O.L., Orme MSS., O.V. 28, pp. 1-4: Robert Orme to John Payne, 26 Octr. 1755.
 8. Sutherland (1), p. 71, n. 3.
 9. G.M., vol. 32 (1762), p. 294.
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DU CANE, Peter (1741-1822)

of St. James's Square, London and of Braxted Lodge, Essex.

Director of the East India Company 1764, 1766-69, 1771-73.

b., 20 April 1741, s. of Peter Du Cane, merchant of London, by Mary, da. of Henry Norris, of Hackney, Middlesex; m., 22 Novr. 1769, Phoebe Philips, da. of Edward Tredcroft, of Horsham, Sussex; 2s. 3da.. 1

The Du Canes had been prominent in City financial circles throughout the eighteenth century, and were linked by marriage to other influential families of Huguenot extraction.² Du Cane's father was a director, both of the Bank of England, and the East India Company, of the latter from 1750 to 1753. Du Cane, the elder, derived much of his income from fund holding, and was proprietor of large amounts of East India stock while sitting in the Direction.³ He also had a number of concerns in East India shipping.⁴

Du Cane may thus have been introduced to the Court of Directors to represent the family's interests, though only twenty years of age. His ledgers indicate that he was indeed involved with his father in dealings in Bank and East India stock at the time.⁵

He received from Du Cane, senior, in March 1764, the necessary £2,000 stock qualification for the Direction,⁶ and was elected on the 'House list' with Laurence Sullivan.⁷ He acted with Sullivan in questioning the proposed powers to be given to Clive's Bengal select committee.⁸ His father remained active in the General Court, and, in the summer of 1766, created 'split' votes in preparation, presumably, for the forthcoming moves to increase the dividend.⁹ He would thus have been supporting Sullivan's allies among the speculative elements of the General Court,

and much of his income certainly came from dealings on the stock market.¹⁰

Du Cane seems to have continued to support Sullivan in Company politics until the end of his period as a director. In February 1774, with Sullivan and other prominent opponents of Government, he called for a ballot to determine whether General Clavering, a nominee of North, should be appointed to the Supreme Council.¹¹ He stood on the 'Proprietors' list' during the 1774 election, and was pledged, if successful, to support Sullivan's efforts to enter the Direction in the following year.¹² Du Cane's defeat was consequently a great loss to Sullivan, but not to the Ministry. North regarded him as one of the 'most violent opposers of Government' in the Direction.¹³

He died on 12 June 1822.¹⁴

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1. Du Cane, pp. 21-22.
 2. C.f. Appendix 2.
 3. Ralph Davis, The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (London, 1962), pp. 106-107; I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/10, p. 191.
 4. Davis, loc. cit..
 5. Essex Rec. Off., Du Cane MSS., D/DDcA26, passim.
 6. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/14, p. 250.
 7. L.M., vol. 33 (1764), p. 215.
 8. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/80, p. 82.
 9. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/14, p. 245.
 10. Davis, loc. cit..
 11. I.O.L., Genl Ct. Mins., B/259, p. 27.
 12. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 17; B.L., Add. MSS., 29134, f. 407: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 15 April 1774.
 13. Fortescue, vol. 3, p. 92; Lord North to the King, 14 April 1774.
 14. Du Cane, p. 22.

DUDLEY, George (c.1702-1777)

of Hart Street, London.

Director of the East India Company 1757-60, 1762, 1764-65*-
66*-67, 1770-71*.

b., c. 1702, poss. rel. of Thomas Dudley; m. (1),
24 Jany. 1751, a da. of Capt. [?Robert] Hudson;
(2) a da. of Robert Sandson; d.s.p. 1

Dudley appears in the Company records in 1730 as a factor in Bombay.² Like Sullivan, he seems to have benefitted from the patronage of Stephen Law (q.v.), since, soon after Law's arrival in Bombay as governor, Dudley was promoted to the rank of councillor.³ Dudley's will in later years left to Law a sum of money 'as a small but gratefull Acknowledgement of his favours to me in the East Indies'.⁴

Dudley remained in India for a few years after Law's departure, but was in England by 1748. During the 1750's he maintained his Bombay connections, standing surety for a number of former colleagues, such as Charles Crommelin, governor of Bombay from 1760 to 1767.⁵ Dudley seems therefore to have entered Company politics with his patron, and was considered a member of the 'Bombay faction' which grew up round Law in this period.⁶ In his first year as a director he supported Sullivan in opposing the pretensions of Holwell to the Bengal government.⁷

However, at some time between this and 1763 Dudley and Sullivan became estranged, possibly as a result of the former's connections in the shipping interest through his marriages.⁸ Dudley stood on the 'list' of Clive and Rous (q.v.) in April 1763, and was defeated.⁹ By January 1765 his estrangement was well known among Sullivan's friends in India. John Spencer wrote to Sullivan that Dudley had surprisingly promised his support in his candidacy for the Bengal government, but continued:

... indeed I rather attribute that expression of Mr. Dudley to his regard for Mr. Crommelin than as a thing really intended, for I know he is no friend either of yours or mine. 10

During the remainder of the decade, Dudley corresponded regularly with Clive and became not only his supporter at East India House, but also his adviser, while Clive was in Bengal. He was on terms of confidence with Clive's agent, Walsh, but, unlike other followers of Clive, does not seem to have depended solely on his good will for his continuance in the Direction. He could not condone Clive's inflated estimates of the diwani profits, and their effect in encouraging profiteering in Company stock.¹¹ Dudley may have been deriving support from the shipping interest. He sat regularly on the Shipping Committee from 1758, and, in May 1766, defended the old practice of selling ships' commands, since, to abolish this practice, would have been a 'means of excluding all conscientious & good men from the service, & admitting a parcel of Villains who will swear to any thing rather than forego the advantage of commanding a Ship'.¹²

As chairman in 1766, Dudley was faced with trying to restrict rash increases in the dividend, a task complicated by his general support for Clive, by whose figures the increases were justified, and by his own apparent involvement in stock dealings in recent years. He assured a Parliamentary committee, however, that he was now 'very little concerned in the rise and fall of stock', and had not been 'in the Alley' since 1765.¹³ Despite any embarrassments occasioned by his supporting Clive, he was still, by November 1767, loyal to his interest. In this month, in accordance with Clive's views, he refused to sanction

any reversal of the prohibition on the export of the Bengal revenues,¹⁴ and was in favour of an extension of Clive's jagir.¹⁵

Dudley was an unsuccessful candidate for the Direction in 1769, standing on the 'House list',¹⁶ but was elected in the following year, and became deputy chairman in 1771. After leaving the Court of Directors, he maintained his contacts with the Clive party, and was noted as one of Clive's 'friends' who were involved in the preparation of an acceptable 'House list' for the 1774 election.¹⁷ He remained an active proprietor until his death on 29 November 1777.¹⁸

1. Dudley's remittances from Bombay were to a ^hThomas Dudley (Elph. Coll. Arch., Public Dept. Diary, vol. 8, p. 44 seq.; G.M., vol. 21 (1751), p. 91; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1037, f. 503 (1777): Will of George Dudley. The will, however, makes no reference to a previous marriage.
2. I.O.L., Bombay Civil Servants, 1712-1752, 0/6/37, p. 56.
3. I.O.L., Bombay Civil Servants, 1712-1752, 0/6/37, p. 97.
4. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1037, f. 503 (1777): Will of George Dudley.
5. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/71, p. 257.
6. Holwell, p. 156.
7. Sutherland (1), p. 66, n. 1.
8. The father of Dudley's former wife would seem to have been Capt. Robert Hudson, Company director from 1721 to 1748, and member of a family influential in shipping circles. His second marriage brought similar connections. Mrs. Dudley's nephew, Capt. Benjamin Jones, commanded the Shrewbury India-man in the 1760's (P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1037, f. 503 (1777): Will of George Dudley; Hardy (1), p. 50).
9. L.M., vol. 32 (1763), p. 224.
10. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., E302/1, f. 22: John Spencer to Laurence Sullivan, 6 Jan. 1765.
11. Sutherland (1), pp. 142-143, n. 3.
12. N.L.W., MS. 52, p. 176: George Dudley to Robert Clive, 17 May 1766.

13. Quoted in Shearer, p. 198.
 14. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/83, pp. 433-436.
 15. Malcolm, vol. 3, p. 203: George Dudley to Robert Clive, 25 March 1767.
 16. G.M., vol. 39 (1769), p. 211.
 17. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 9.
 18. G.M., vol. 47 (1777), p. 611.
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DU PRÉ, Josias (c.1721-1780)

of Portland Place, London and of Wilton Park, Buckinghamshire.
 Director of the East India Company 1765-66.

b., c. 1721, s. of Josias Du Pré, secretary to the
 East India Company; m., 1766, Rebecca, da. of Nath-
 aniel Alexander, of Gunsland, N. Ireland, and sis.
 of James Alexander, Company servant of Madras, and
 1st. Lord Caledon; 1s. 5da.. 1

Governor of Madras 1770-73.

Du Pré was appointed factor in the Company's Madras serv-
 ice in October 1751,² having already spent some years in the
 Company's London offices. Under the government of George
 Pigot he rose to council status by 1760,³ and was employed on
 a number of missions to native rulers.⁴ He formed what was to
 be a long standing friendship with Pigot, and left Madras with
 him in November 1763.

Du Pré was considered by the Clive camp in November 1764
 as a candidate for the Company Direction. It was felt that
 his inclusion in Clive's 'list' would win over the influential
 and wealthy 'nabob', Pigot, who might then be persuaded to
 'split' large amounts of stock 'in support of his friend'.⁵
 After the election, Du Pré was expected to join Clive's party
 in the Directorate. Walsh informed Clive:

I have made Dupre sensible how much his being a Director is owing to you and I dare say he is honest enough to remember it, tho' his first attachment may possibly be to Sr. George Pigot. 6

Du Pré's abilities were already recognised, and he was considered a valuable acquisition to the body of directors.⁷

He had his own ambitions to pursue, however, and offered himself for the Madras governorship, where he retained financial stakes.⁸ He was appointed second in council, with succession to the government, over the heads of Madras servants of long standing, notably one John Call, whom Clive was proposing.⁹ Du Pré seems to have been unable to remove the stigma of not having risen through the Company ranks from the level of writer, and having owed his promotion to Pigot's patronage. Colebrooke (q.v.) considered the appointment as an 'unnecessary supercession', regarding Du Pré, not as a bona fide Company servant, but as an outsider who 'had been only Secretary to Lord Pigot'.¹⁰

He showed himself a vigorous and able governor during three of the presidency's most troubled years. He was faced with the growing impatience of the Nawab's creditors, the interference in Company affairs in the Carnatic of Sir John Lindsay, Crown commissioner sent out by the Government, and with a war against Tanjore. His approach caused hostility. Hastings wrote:

[He] has great Abilities, and a Firmness and Rigor which are much, very much wanted, but will go down very ill with People spoilt by too much Indulgence. The Nabob is one of the People. 11

Du Pré's government ended in dissension and hostility among his councillors. His own affairs were more successful, however, and he was said to have been worth a substantial fortune

on his departure in 1773.¹²

In England once more, he was felt to have 'views on the Direction' in order to support his 'Madras friends',¹³ but this did not materialise. His backing was given to Pigot's efforts in 1773 to obtain the newly created office of governor-general,¹⁴ and to Lauchlin Maclean's campaign in defence of Hastings, who had served under Du Pré in Madras.¹⁵

He died on 1 October 1780 at Wilton Park.¹⁶

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1. Hist. MSS. Comm. Palk, p. 30, n. 1 (There may be some confusion here, however, in the identification of Du Pré's father, since Du Pré himself was employed in the secretary's office before going to India (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/70, p. 504)); B.L.G. (17th. ed., 1952), p. 719; B.P.B., p. 451.
 2. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/71, p. 528.
 3. I.O.L., Madras Civilians, A-I, O/6/30, p. 157.
 4. Dodwell (1), pp. 268, 309-310.
 5. N.L.W., MS. 52, p. 44: John Walsh to Robert Clive, 22 Novr. 1764.
 6. I.O.L., Home Misc. Ser., 808, p. 232: John Walsh to Robert Clive, n.d..
 7. N.L.W., MS. 53, p. 72: General Richard Smith to Robert Clive, 21 July 1765.
 8. Du Pré was one of the Nawab's principal creditors as listed in the Consolidated Debt of 1767 (Gurney, p. 326, Appendix 1). Du Pré was also instructed to settle Pigot's financial affairs with the Nawab and the Raja of Tanjore (Gurney, p. 290 and n. 3).
 9. Tam. Nad. Arch., Mayor's Court Miscellaneous, 12, Private Letter Book of Francis Jourdain, no. 5 (no foliation): Francis Jourdain to Edward Monckton, 17 March 1768.
 10. Colebrooke, pt. 1, p. 134.
 11. Quoted in Gurney, p. 111, n. 2.
 12. Gurney, p. 131.
 13. Barwell Letter-Book, B.P.P., vol. 11 (1915), p. 50: Richard Barwell to Mary Barwell, 10 Sept. 1773.
 14. Gurney, p. 286, n. 1.
 15. Maclean, p. 527, n. 1418. Du Pré was a confidant of John and James Macpherson, particularly the former, who were involved, ostensibly at least, in Hastings's defence, and,

more deeply, in the Nawab's debts. John Macpherson told Hastings in 1775: 'My friend, Mr Dupré, has wrote me by every Ship, and with the warmest attention to my Welfare' (James N.M. Maclean, 'The early political careers of James "Fingal" Macpherson (1736-1796) and Sir John Macpherson, Bart. (1744-1821)' (Edinburgh Univ. Ph.D. thesis 1967), p. 380).

16. Musgrave, vol. 5, p. 77; Holzman, p. 141. Holzman differs slightly in dating Du Pré's death.

ELPHINSTONE, William Fullerton

vide FULLERTON ELPHINSTONE, William

EWER, Walter (c.1747-1810)

of Love Lane, Aldermanbury, London.

Director of the East India Company Decr. 1790-April 1791,
1792-94.

b., c. 1747, prob. s. of Henry Ewer, of the Lea,
Hertfordshire, by his w., Hester Dunster; m. ?;
2s. 2da.. 1

Ewer is listed with his brother, John, as a merchant of Love Lane, Aldermanbury, in contemporary directories.² He may have had interests in trade with the East, as his probable brother, William Ewer, M.P., was involved in the Turkey trade, and a brother-in-law, Lord Shaftesbury, was governor of the Levant Company.³ Ewer was elected to the East India Direction, with Dundas's support,⁴ on the death of James Moffatt (q.v.).

He resigned from the Direction in April 1785, and, soon after, seems to have proceeded to India with the appointment of marine paymaster and storekeeper in Fort William.⁵ However, he acted rather as an agent for Dundas, to whom he sent confidential reports regarding the abilities of senior Company servants, and the conduct of their administration.⁶ In 1806 he was posted to Sumatra, where he owned plantations,⁷ in the capacity of commissioner, with instructions to investigate the Company's administration on that island.⁸

He died on 25 July 1810, and was buried in North Park cemetery, Fort William.⁹

1. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1059, f. 494 (1779): Will of Walter Ewer [d. 1779]; I.O.L., Bengal Wills (1811), pp. 189-190: Will of Walter Ewer [q.v.]. The evidence of these wills, the former being that of Ewer's uncle, points to the identification of Ewer as a son of Henry Ewer, father of the M.P., William Ewer (Namier and Brooke, vol. 2,

p. 408). However, the prevalence of the Christian name, 'Walter', among members of the Ewer family makes positive identification difficult.

2. Kent's Directory ... (London, 1789), p. 56.
3. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 408.
4. Philips (1), p. 62, n. 4.
5. I.O.L., Personal Records, 0/6/1, vol. 1, p. 418.
6. I.O.L., Home Misc. Ser., 438, pp. 1-4, 9-11: Letters from Walter Ewer to Henry Dundas .
7. I.O.L., Bengal Wills (1811), pp. 189-190: Will of Walter Ewer.
8. Bengal Obituary, p. 201.
9. Bengal Obituary, p. 201.

FITZHUGH, Thomas (1728-1800)

of Portland Place, London.

Director of the East India Company June 1785-April 1786,
1787-90, 1792-95, 1797-
d. Jany. 1800.

b., 21 Augt. 1728, 3rd. s. of Capt. William Fitzhugh, of Mile End, London, by Mary Pyne, of Stepney; m., 1769, Mary, da. of William Lloyd, of Plas Power, Denbighshire; ls. 4da.. 1

Fitzhugh was appointed writer to the supercargoes of the Sandwich Indiaman in February 1746,² and so perpetuated the family's shipping connections, his father being a commander, and later a ship's husband. Fitzhugh attained the rank of supercargo two years later,³ and continued to serve the Company in this capacity, and as a Canton councillor, for thirty years, when he retired with a reputed fortune of £60,000.⁴ Following a period in London during the mid-1770's, he returned to China as president of the newly-formed Canton select committee in 1778.⁵

Fitzhugh was husband for the Stafford Indiaman during the

1770's.⁶ In shipping matters the relationship with his brother-in-law, the influential director, John Purling (q.v.), was also important for him, and of long standing. Fitzhugh's father had been one of the owners of Purling's ship, the Neptune, in 1759,⁷ and Purling later acted as Fitzhugh's attorney while he was based in China.⁸

He was an unsuccessful candidate for the Direction in April 1785, when he stood against the 'House list',⁹ but was chosen to replace Atkinson (q.v.) two months later. Though receiving help from Dundas in his election, Fitzhugh became one of his most virulent opponents,¹⁰ as in the question of the King's regiments.¹¹ This hostility would seem to have been attributable, perhaps, rather to his affinity of interest with shipping directors like Elphinstone (q.v.) than to any association he might have had with the 'East Indian' directors, as has been suggested.¹²

Fitzhugh's service in the East made him an authority in commercial matters,¹³ and also encouraged in him an interest in Chinese porcelain. The 'Fitzhugh pattern' is reputedly named after him.¹⁴

He died in Portland Place on 1 January 1800.¹⁵

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1. B.L.G., vol. 2, p. 204; G.M., vol. 39 (1769), p. 110.
 2. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/68, p. 438.
 3. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/70, p. 183.
 4. From information provided by T.V.H. Fitzhugh, Esq., of Ottershaw, Surrey.
 5. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/94, p. 321.
 6. Hardy (1), p. 79.
 7. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/75, p. 441.

8. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/82, p. 24.
 9. G.M., vol. 55, pt. 1 (1785), p. 317; P.A. 11 April 1785.
 10. Philips (1), p. 60, n. 1. It has been suggested incorrectly that Dundas's support in the election was due to Fitzhugh's being of Scots nationality (Philips (1), pp. 53-54).
 11. Auber, p. 441.
 12. Philips (1), p. 61 and n. 3. Elphinstone received a special bequest in Fitzhugh's will (P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1335, f. 22 (1800): Will of Thomas Fitzhugh).
 13. His advice on the profitability of exporting opium from Bengal to China was taken by the directors in June 1783 (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/99, p. 136).
 14. J.B.S. Holmes, 'Fitzhugh and Fitzhughs in the China Trade', Antiques, Jany. 1966.
 15. G.M., vol. 70, pt. 1 (1800), p. 87.
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FLETCHER, Sir Henry (c.1727-1807)

of Clea Hall, Cumberland.

Director of the East India Company 1769, 1771-75, 1777-80,
1782***-Novr. 1783**.

b., c. 1727, 7th. s. of John Fletcher, of Clea Hall, Cumberland, by his 2nd. w., Isabella, da. and coh. of John Stenhouse, of Netherhall, Cumberland; m., 20 Octr. 1768, Catherine, da. and h. of John Lin-tot, of Southwater, Sussex; ls. lda.; cr. Bt., 20 May 1782.

M.P. for Cumberland 16 Decr. 1768-1806.¹

Fletcher makes his first appearance in Company politics in April 1767, as a candidate on Sullivan's defeated 'Proprietors' list'.² He had formerly commanded the Stormont Indiaman, from 1758 to 1761, and the Earl of Middlesex, from 1763 to 1766.³ A charter-party for his second ship had been Samuel Hough, Sullivan's associate.⁴ Fletcher's Parliamentary standpoint strengthened his links with the Sullivan party, since Rockingham, with whom Fletcher voted consistently,⁵ was, in

the mid-1760's, in sympathy with opposition groups in the Company. With the Rockingham followers, William Burke and Lord Verney, speculators, and members of the coalition party in the Company behind Sullivan,⁶ he was in favour of removing the restrictive limit on the dividend in February 1769.⁷ Fletcher was once again defeated in the election of 1768,⁸ but finally entered the Directorate a year later with other Sullivan supporters.⁹

During the 1770's Fletcher was a steady adherent to the Parliamentary Opposition's cause, and a supporter of Sullivan, standing in the anti-Ministerial 'Proprietors' list' of 1774.¹⁰ However, by 1778, Sullivan felt that Fletcher was hostile to him.¹¹ The question of Hastings's continuance in India may have been important here, as Fletcher, with prominent Rockingham supporters, like Edmund Burke, was later described as an implacable opponent of the governor-general,¹² and, in the matter of Hastings's treatment of the raja, Chait Singh, as 'the Tool of the Rockingham Party & led by Burke & General [Richard] Smith'.¹³

A temporary reconciliation was achieved before the 1780 election, when Fletcher and other directors representative of various interests co-operated in declining to sign the 'House list'.¹⁴ Though Sullivan joined forces with the Government at the last minute, he seems to have been relying on Fletcher's continued support, which in the end was not forthcoming. He told Hastings in October that he had 'declined the Deputy Chair upon S^r H. Fletcher's infamous desertion'.¹⁵

Fletcher succeeded to the chairmanship in July 1782. He began to take an increasingly active part in Parliamentary

debates on Company affairs, assisting Shelburne in the introduction of his peace preliminaries, but becoming most prominent when Fox and Portland, with whose backing he sat for Cumberland, came to power. He helped formulate Fox's India legislation, and was named as a full commissioner, though his abilities were doubted in some quarters.¹⁶ Baring (q.v.), an expert in Company finance, blamed Fletcher for mistakes in Fox's figures. He wrote:

... [Fletcher] is neither capable of forming accounts himself or of digesting those which are formed by others: the blunders which Sir Henry has made in some commercial arrangements during the present Administration are far more injurious although not obvious to the public eye, but under his management will the great commercial concerns of the Company fall. 17

Fletcher's outspoken support for Fox's Bill made his position as chairman untenable in the face of the General Court's opposition to the Bill, and of the hostility of a majority of the directors. Therefore, having, as chairman, presented the Company's petition against the Bill to Parliament, he resigned to allow himself a freer hand in following his own views.¹⁸

He died on 29 March 1807.¹⁹

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1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 439.
 2. L.M., vol. 36 (1767), p. 200.
 3. I.O.L., Mar. Rec. Cat., pp. 38, 41.
 4. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/78, p. 323.
 5. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 439.
 6. Colebrooke, pt. 1, pp. 109, 110 and n. 1.
 7. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/257, p. 251.
 8. L.M., vol. 37 (1768), p. 226.
 9. L.M., vol. 38 (1769), p. 218.
 10. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 17.
 11. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. hist., c269, p. 27: Laurence Sullivan to

Stephen Sullivan, [1778].

12. B.L., Add. MSS., 29159, f. 351^v: John Scott to Warren Hastings, 7 June 1783.
 13. B.L., Add. MSS., 29155, f. 231: John Scott to Warren Hastings, 29 July 1782.
 14. Sutherland (1), p. 347 and n. 5.
 15. B.L., Add. MSS., 29146, f. 390^v: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 26 Octr. 1780.
 16. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 439.
 17. Quoted in Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 439.
 18. Sutherland (1), p. 407; Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 439.
 19. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 439.
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FONNEREAU, Zachary Philip (1706-1778)

of Size Lane, London.

Director of the East India Company 1753-54.

b., 31 Jany. 1706, 4th. s. of Claude Fonnereau,
merchant of London; m., 13 April 1738, Maragaret,
da. and coh. of George Martyn, of Odington, Glouc-
estershire; 10s. 3da..

M.P. for Aldeburgh 1747-74.¹

With his brother, Thomas, Fonnereau was a Government contractor, and a steady Ministerial supporter in Parliament.² The Fonnereaus had begun as cloth merchants, and their father, a naturalised Huguenot, had made his fortune in linen.³ Though Fonnereau had graduated to the field of pure finance, and was underwriting Government loans by the time of his directorship, he retained interests in the cloth trade, probably as a supplier, being a member of the Committee of Buying in the year of the Brice Fisher scandal. He took Fisher's side, and, like Chauncy and Linwood (qq.v.), did not stand for the Direction again.⁴

He retained some interests at East India House, however,

being called upon by Newcastle in March 1763 to vote for Clive's 'list' in the Company election.⁵

He died on 15 August 1778.⁶

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1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 448.
 2. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 448.
 3. Sedgwick, vol. 2, p. 41; Wilson, p. 160, n. 5.
 4. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 448.
 5. B.L., Add. MSS., 32947, f. 271: 'M^r. West's List of Proprietors of E.I. Stock', 'Newcastle House March 23^d. 1763'.
 6. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 448.
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FRASER, Simon (1727-1810)

of King's Arms Yard, London; of Blackheath, Kent, and of Ness Castle, Invernesshire.

Director of the East India Company Feby. 1791-April 1791,
1793-96, 1798-1801, 1803-06.

b., 1727, bro. of Duncan Fraser, merchant of Inverness; m., in Gibraltar, _____ Wilson; 1s. and lda., Margery, who m., 9 June 1784, Alexander Fraser, 6th. Lord Saltoun. 1

Fraser had established himself as a merchant in King's Arms Yard by 1763,² having spent some time in Gibraltar, and 'speedily raised himself from obscurity by his talent and industry'.³ His interests were mainly in the West Indies, where he owned sugar plantations on Tobago and Dominica.⁴

He was associated with Dundas's friend, David Scott (q.v.), in May 1788 in a scheme to ease the Company's debt situation,⁵ and was elected to the Direction with Dundas's support in February 1791.⁶ Fraser remained loyal to Dundas, who was on good

terms with his daughter, Lady Saltoun.⁷

He died, a wealthy merchant, on 19 May 1810.⁸

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1. Alexander Fraser, Seventeenth Lord Saltoun, The Frasers of Philorth (Edinburgh, 1879), vol. 1, p. 209; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1515, f. 495 (1810): Will of Simon Fraser.
 2. Kent's Directory ... (London, 1763), p. 48.
 3. Fraser, loc. cit..
 4. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1515, f. 495 (1810): Will of Simon Fraser.
 5. S.R.O., MS. GD/51/3/9, f. 22: David Scott to Henry Dundas, 21 May 1788 (enclosure).
 6. Philips (1), p. 62, n. 4.
 7. S.R.O., MS. GD/51/4/1097: Lady Saltoun to Henry Dundas, 30 July 1801.
 8. Fraser, op. cit., p. 210.
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FREEMAN, William George (? -c.1782)

of Lamb's Conduit Street, London.

Director of the East India Company 1769, 1774-76, 1778-81.

m. Margaret, sis. of Capt. Charles Foulis, ship's husband, of Woodford; 3s. lda. (by a previous marriage ?). 1

Sullivan described Freeman to Warren Hastings as his 'worthy and valuable Friend',² and to his son, in 1778, as 'Freeman who will never leave me'.³ Their connection went back at least as far as 1764, when Freeman was an unsuccessful member of the 'House list'.⁴ He continued to support Sullivan as a proprietor,⁵ and stood regularly on the election 'lists' with which Sullivan was associated, until chosen himself for the Direction in 1769.⁶

Freeman's business concerns lay in Company shipping,

particularly in marine insurance,⁷ and in the pursuit of which he dealt with members of the shipping interest who were on close terms with Sullivan. During the 1760's there is evidence that Sullivan's associate, the broker, Andrew Moffatt (whose brother, James (q.v.), the director, supported Sullivan) was acting as Freeman's agent.⁸ Freeman's transactions in India stock throughout the period testify to his continuous dealings with the Moffatts, to whom he was related by marriage,⁹ and with other of Sullivan's shipping colleagues, such as Samuel Hough.¹⁰

Freeman also had links with Sir Charles Raymond, the powerful ship's husband. Before the 1774 election, there were apprehensions in the Ministry camp about the possible effect of Raymond's supporting Sullivan. Consequently, it was decided to bring in some new names to the 'House list'.

Henry Strachey reported:

Of these Freeman belongs to Raymond: he and Peach [q.v.] have been brought in to secure Raymond's Interest for the list. 11

Freeman continued in the 'Proprietors' list' also,¹² and was elected without difficulty.

As Sullivan's comments indicate, Freeman remained one of his most loyal adherents. He voted against the motion to recall Hastings in May 1776,¹³ and dissented from the directors' orders restoring George Pigot to the Madras government after his deposition by his council.¹⁴ In both cases, Freeman was taking the same line as Sullivan, but also had personal motives for his standpoints. In the former case, he was desirous of Hastings's interest for his son, a Bengal servant,¹⁵ while his son-in-law was in the Madras military establishment

of General James Stuart, one of the participants in Pigot's overthrow.¹⁶ His friendship with Sullivan was strengthened by the latter's obligations to Freeman's brother-in-law, the husband, Charles Foulis, Sullivan's 'most worthy and steady Friend',¹⁷ with whose family Freeman remained on the closest of terms.¹⁸

With Sullivan and other directors in opposition to the Ministry party in the Court, he refused to sign the 'House list' in April 1780.¹⁹

He died about 1782.

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1. Note of Freeman's death does not appear in Musgrave, but his will was proved on 10 May 1782 (P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1090, f. 224 (1782): Will of William George Freeman. For further family details, c.f. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1106, f. 351 (1783): Will of Charles Foulis; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1253, f. 610 (1794): Will of Margaret Freeman).
 2. B.L., Add. MSS., 29136, f. 171^v: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 14 April 1775.
 3. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. hist., c269, p. 28: Laurence Sullivan to Stephen Sullivan, [1778].
 4. L.M., vol. 33 (1764), p. 215.
 5. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/257, p. 143.
 6. G.M., vol. 35 (1765), p. 195; P.A., 7 April 1766; L.M., vol. 36 (1767), p. 200; L.M., vol. 37 (1768), p. 226.
 7. Sutherland (2), p. 45, n. 2.
 8. Sutherland (2), p. 58, n. 2.
 9. C.f. Appendix 2.
 10. I.O.L., Stock Ledgers, L/AG/14/5/13, p. 224; L/AG/14/5/14, p. 288; L/AG/14/5/16, p. 292.
 11. E.U.L., MSS. Photo 1697, correspondence, 1766-74: Henry Strachey to Robert Clive, 29 March 1774 (postscript dated, 1 April 1774).
 12. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 27.
 13. Gleig, vol. 2, p. 65: Lauchlin Macleane to Warren Hastings, 25 June 1776.
 14. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/93, p. 27.
 15. B.L., Add. MSS., 29136, f. 171^v: Laurence Sullivan to

- Warren Hastings, 15 Feby. 1775.
16. N.L.S., MS. 8252, f. 223: General James Stuart to Andrew Stuart, 10 Octr. 1780.
 17. B.L., Add. MSS., 29133, f. 563: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 23 May 1773.
 18. By his will, Foulis left to his 'dear Sister' (Freeman's widow) £2,000 which was to pass to her sons after her death. Freeman had already been interred in the Foulis family vault (P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1106, f. 351 (1783): Will of Charles Foulis).
 19. Sutherland (1), p. 347, n. 5.
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FULLERTON-ELPHINSTONE, The Hon. William (1740-1834)

of Carberry, Midlothian and of East Lodge, Enfield, Middlesex.

Director of the East India Company Decr. 1786-89, 1791-94,
1796-99, 1801-04**, 1806**-
09, 1811)13*-14**, 1816-19,
1821-24.

b., 13 Septr. 1740, 3rd. s. of Charles, 10th. Lord Elphinstone, by Clementina, da. of John, 6th. Earl of Wigtown; m., 24 June 1774, Elizabeth, eld da. of William Fullerton of Carstairs, and niece and heiress of John Fullerton of Carberry; 4s. 3da.; assumed name of Fullerton at his marriage. 1

The Elphinstone family fortunes being at a low ebb, Elphinstone was sent to sea as a boy through a relative in Aberdeen engaged in trade with the colonies. In 1757 he went to London, and, with the help of Scottish contacts in the shipping world, found a place on the Winchelsea Indiaman.² By 1766 he was commanding the Triton, though only twenty-six years of age, mainly through the interest of Sir Lawrence Dundas.³ He made four voyages to the East between 1766 and 1777,⁴ the profits from which he was able to employ in the restoration of the family finances and political position in central Scotland. During the 1777 general election, Elphinstone, and his brother

(later Lord Keith) supported Sir Lawrence Dundas's candidate in Stirlingshire, in return for Dundas's assistance in George Elphinstone's candidacy for Dunbartonshire.⁵

By October 1778 Elphinstone had turned to other marine pursuits. He was engaged in privateering during the American War,⁶ and formed his own shipping company, signing a valuable contract with the expanding Carron Company to ship 'the whole Iron and other Goods of every kind which they should have occasion to send or import from the River Thames during the period of Twenty one years'.⁷ In 1785 he seems to have determined to stand for the East India Direction as, in February, he sold his Carron contract,⁸ and finally resigned his East India command.⁹ When a vacancy arose, the chairmen were instructed to support him. Motteux (q.v.), the deputy chairman, replied to Henry Dundas:

M^r. Michie [q.v.] & I will do what we can to bring M^r. Elphinstone into the Direction, in M^r. Hall's [q.v.] room - I think him likely to carry his Election, with a large majority, But your friends cannot be too active in his favour. 10

Elphinstone's family was also active in his support, canvassing Lords North and Sandwich to use their weight in the General Court to facilitate his election.¹¹ He duly took his seat in the Directorate in December 1786.

Despite Dundas's assistance in his election, Elphinstone soon took an independent line, and eventually became an implacable opponent of Dundas's protégé, David Scott (q.v.). He opposed Dundas in the matter of the King's regiments,¹² and, as a result, was regarded as 'the most violent opposer and the most formidable Government has had at the India House'.¹³ Through his continuing interests in the ownership of East India

shipping he was further alienated from Dundas in 1789, when a reduction in freightage in Indiamen was proposed.¹⁴ He was a prominent member of the so-called 'old shipping interest', which was against any attempts by reforming directors, like Scott, to break the existing shipping monopoly, and admit new owners and ships to the Company service.

Elphinstone's real importance in Company affairs lies in the period after 1790, when he was chairman on three occasions. In this office he exercised extensive patronage, through which many of his own family rose to positions of prominence in India, notably his nephews, Mountstuart Elphinstone, governor of Bombay from 1819 to 1822, and John Adam, governor-general in 1823.

Elphinstone died on 3 May 1834,¹⁵ possessed of great wealth and property.

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1. Sir William Fraser, The Elphinstone Family Book of the Lords Elphinstone, Balmerino and Coupar (Edinburgh, 1897), vol.2, pp. 8-9; S.P. vol. 3, pp. 545-546.
 2. S.R.O., MS. GD/156/6/9: John Elphinstone to Lady Clementina Elphinstone, 8 April 1755; William Elphinstone (q.v.) to Lady Clementina Elphinstone, 22 Novr. 1757.
 3. S.R.O., MS. GD/156/6/9: William Elphinstone (q.v.) to Lord Elphinstone, 25 Jany. [?1766].
 4. I.O.L., Mar. Rec. Cat., pp. 44, 46, 49, 51.
 5. Ronald M. Sunter, 'Stirlingshire Politics, 1707-1832' (Edinburgh Univ. Ph.D. thesis 1971), pp. 225-226.
 6. Roy H. Campbell, Carron Company (Edinburgh, 1961), p. 116.
 7. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., F89, Green Box A, bundle xvii: 'Transfer betwixt Mr William Elphinstone and David and Adam Gordon 8 Fey 1785', p. 3.
 8. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., F89, Green Box A, bundle xvii: 'Transfer ...', passim.
 9. I.O.L., Mar. Misc., 651, p. 9.
 10. S.R.O., MS. GD/51/3/54b, f. 216: John Motteux to Henry Dundas, 25 Novr. 1786.

11. Sandwich MSS., F40/31: George Keith Elphinstone to Lord Sandwich, 20 Novr. 1786; F40/32: Lord North to Lord Sandwich, 4 Decr. 1786.
 12. Auber, p. 441.
 13. Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, Memoirs of the Courts and Cabinets of George the Third (London, 1853), vol. 1, p. 361: Lord Bulkeley to Lord Buckingham, 10 March 1788.
 14. Philips (1), p. 62. Besides his shipping interests, Elphinstone may have had another reason for seeking election to the Company Direction. His close connection with the Carron Company had led to his ships being the first to be equipped with the newly developed carronade, which the Company began to order in great numbers after 1790 (Campbell, op. cit., pp. 90, 220).
 15. S.P., vol. 3, p. 546.
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GILDART, Richard (? -1771)

of New Broad Street, London and of Totteridge, Hertfordshire.
Director of the East India Company 1759.

b., ?, prob. s. of Richard Gildart, M.P. for Liverpool, 1734-54; m. (1) Elizabeth, da. of George Knipe (d. 28 June 1758); (2) Mary ____; 4s. 2da. 1

Gildart, a London merchant with interests in the West Indies, and in marine insurance, appears in the trade directories by 1755.² His brother, Thomas, was concerned in the import of diamonds from India,³ and with the broker, John Rooke, whom Gildart mentions in his will as a 'good friend',⁴ participated in the insurance of the Company settlement at Fort Marlborough, in Sumatra, against its loss to the Dutch.⁵

After leaving the Direction, Gildart retained his India stock, being noted in 1763 by Clive as one of the largest proprietors, whose interest should be sought.⁶

He died on 11 January 1771.⁷

1. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/963, f. 17 (1771): Will of Richard Gildart; Cussans, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 303; Sedgwick, vol. 2, pp. 63, 180. Information from these sources indicates that Gildart's father was Richards Gildart, M.P..
 2. A Complete Guide ... (London, 1755), p. 132.
 3. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/76, p. 355.
 4. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/963, f. 17 (1771): Will of Richard Gildart.
 5. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/77, p. 165.
 6. B.L., Add. MSS., 32948, f. 332: 'Proprietors of East India Stock from Lord Clive's Paper - May 19th. 1763'.
 7. G.M., vol. 41 (1771), p. 47.
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GODFREY, Peter (c.1695-1769)

of Crutched Friars, London and of Woodford, Essex.

Director of the East India Company 1734-37, 1739-42, 1744-47, 1749-52, 1754-55*-56*-57, 1759*-60.

b., c. 1695, 3rd. s. of Peter Godfrey, M.P., of Woodford, director of the Bank of England and East India Company, by Catherine, da. of Thomas Goddard, of Nun's Court, Coleman Street, London; unm.. 1

Director of the Sun Fire Office 1737-69.

Godfrey joined the Company's service as a supercargo in 1712,² and became eventually chief of the Canton council,³ before settling in London as a merchant with his brothers, and becoming an East India director. The Godfrey brothers had interests in every aspect of the City's financial life, but of most relevance in the present study are Edmund and Thomas, through their involvement in Company shipping.⁴ Godfrey's own interests were not confined to East India affairs, but embraced insurance and underwriting Government loans.⁵

In 1757, with Sullivan, he opposed the pretensions of Holwell to the Bengal government, and was classed as a member of the 'Bombay faction'.⁶ Behind his antipathy to Holwell lay business interests transcending matters of purely Company concern. He had been handling remittances from William Watts, a Bengal councillor, for a number of years,⁷ and was consequently concerned with his interests in the Company; but the most significant connection for both lay in their links with the Sun Fire insurance company, for which Godfrey was treasurer from 1758, and for which Watts had been secretary before going to Bengal, and director in 1763 on his return.⁸ John Payne (q.v.) wrote to Robert Orme in February 1758:

... nothing will satisfy your Friend P.G. [Peter Godfrey] but that Mr. Watts shall be sole President. 9

Sullivan, too, had connections on the Bengal council to serve, and so it was in the common interest of both himself and Godfrey to co-operate against Holwell, who was led to complain to a well-disposed director:

... for what have We not to fear from so Malignant Powerfull, & inveterate a conjunction as Messrs. Law Sullivan [qq.v.] & Godfrey, whose unjust persecution of Me has already exceeded all Bounds of Truth decency & Humanity 10

It seems likely that the Godfreys had been associated with Sullivan and his Bombay colleagues over a long period. Edmund Godfrey, formerly a supercargo, was named with Sullivan as executor to the estate of Timothy Tullie (q.v.) in June 1758,¹¹ while William Wake, governor of Bombay from 1742 to 1750, left bequests to Peter and Joseph Godfrey.¹²

He continued to participate in General Court affairs until his death, as in 1767 in the matter of Clive's jagir,¹³ and

died on 15 July 1769,¹⁴ unmarried like all his brothers.

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1. William Berry, County Genealogies. Pedigrees of the Families in the County of Kent ... (London, 1830), p. 147; Sedgwick, vol. 2, p. 65.
 2. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/52, p. 197.
 3. Morse, vol. 1, p. 185.
 4. Edmund and Thomas Godfrey were, for example, owner charter-parties for the Essex Indiaman in 1761 (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/77, p. 187).
 5. He undertook to find signatories among his fellow directors for £200,000 of the loan of 1759-60 (Sir Lewis B. Namier, The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III (London, 1957, 2nd. ed.), p. 68).
 6. Holwell, p. 156.
 7. Fort William-India House Correspondence, vol. 1, p. 384. Watts was remitting to Godfrey by 1750.
 8. Dickson, p. 306, Appendix 2.
 9. I.O.L., Orme MSS., O.V. 28, p. 243: John Payne to Robert Orme, 18 Feby. 1758.
 10. I.O.L., Orme MSS., O.V. 21, p. 18: Zephaniah Holwell to John Payne, [c. March 1759].
 11. C.f. Timothy Tullie (q.v.).
 12. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/950, f. 244 (1769): Will of Peter Godfrey.
 13. I.O.L., Genl.Ct. Mins., B/257, p. 46.
 14. G.M., vol. 39 (1769), p. 367.
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GOUGH, Charles (1693-1774)

of Walthamstow, Essex.

Director of the East India Company 1749-52, 1754-57, 1759-62.

b., 18 July 1693, 11th. s. of Sir Henry Gough, M.P., of Perry Hall, Staffordshire, by Mary, da. of Sir Edward Littleton, of Pillaton, Staffordshire; educ. at Westminster school; unm.. 1

Gough belonged to one of the most powerful families to be involved in Company shipping during the eighteenth century. His uncle, Sir Richard Gough, and cousin, Sir Henry Gough, were both Company directors, and had made fortunes in trade with the East. Most influential, however, was his brother, Captain Harry Gough, Company commander, and director from 1730 to 1750, in which period he was chairman on five occasions.²

Leaving school in 1713, Gough was destined for a career at sea, and 'went before the mast to Turkey, and afterwards midshipman to Bengal, under the care of his brother Richard'.³ He had command of the Princess Ann Indiaman by 1726, and, in succession to his brother, Harry, of the Richmond from 1731 to 1737.⁴ In subsequent years he appears regularly in the Company records as a ship-owner,⁵ and, entering the Direction in 1749, sat continuously on the Shipping Committee, until the penultimate year of his directorship.

Gough supported Sullivan during the Holwell controversy, possibly as a result of Sullivan's good relations with the shipping interest in these years, and was regarded as one of the 'Bombay faction'.⁶ He stood for election on Sullivan's 'House list' in April 1764, but was defeated.⁷

He died on 11 February 1774.⁸

1. Stebbing Shaw, The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire (London, 1798-1801), vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 188; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/995, f. 49 (1774): Will of Charles Gough.
 2. Sedgwick, vol. 2, p. 73.
 3. Shaw, op. cit., p. 193.
 4. I.O.L., Mar. Rec. Cat., pp. 21, 23-24.
 5. Gough was owner charter-party for the Richmond in 1738, the Edgbaston in 1739, the Benjamin in 1741 (I.O.L., Ct. Bks., B/65, pp. 171, 536; B/66, p. 434).
 6. Holwell, p. 156.
 7. L.M., vol. 33 (1764), p. 215.
 8. G.M., vol. 44 (1774), p. 141.
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GREGORY, Robert (?1729-1810)

of Valence, Kent; of Rolls Park, Essex and of Coole Park,
co. Galway.

Director of the East India Company 1769-72, 1775-78, 1780-
Augt. 1782**.

b., ?1729, s. of Henry Gregory, of Galway, by Mary,
da. of Robert Shaw, of Newford, co. Galway; m.
Maria Nimmo, da. of an East India merchant; 3s. 1da.

M.P. for Maidstone 1768-74; Rochester 1774-84.¹

Gregory went out to Bengal as a 'free merchant' about 1747.²
As early as 1765 he had formed a connection with Maharaja Nanda
Kumar, who had been removed from high office under the nawab, and
whose case Gregory took to the new governor of Bengal, Robert
Clive.³ By the date of his return to Britain, he had impressed
himself upon Clive, who described him as 'a great Merchant hav-
ing acquired a Fortune one hundred thousand Pounds sterling in
Trade in the most honourable Manner, his Integrity & Abilities
are unquestionable & his Character a very respectable one'.⁴

He returned in 1766, and was elected to the Direction in
1769, as a member of the 'House list'.⁵ In Parliament he

voted constantly with Opposition, and, though his Bengal interests often determined his standpoint in Company matters, enjoyed the reputation of being independent of party. During debates preceding the passing of the Regulating Act, he declared:

Most of the gentlemen now in India are my particular friends, but I am willing to do all I can for the ease of the inhabitants of India. A place without law can never be happy. I prefer the happiness of seventeen millions of souls to the emoluments of my friends 6

However, Gregory was particularly concerned with the welfare of one 'friend' in India, namely Nanda Kumar, who, by the early 1770's, was suffering under Hastings's government, and was trying to rouse opposition to the governor-general in England through Gregory, his agent. Francis Sykes told Hastings:

... I dined yesterday with Gregory ... and others and find Nundcomar writes them everything wch happens and something more, by every ship. This is a fact for I found they had everything from him 7

With Sullivan's return to the Direction in 1771, Gregory acted with him in ordering the dismissal of Bengal servants, such as Becher (q.v.), who were continuing Clive's policies in Bengal: Sullivan because of hostility to Clive, and Gregory in order to facilitate a return to power for Nanda Kumar, who had been neglected by Clive and his successors.⁸

In matters not directly concerning his personal interests Gregory seems to have acted in accordance with his professions of non-alignment. He was closely involved with Company opposition to North's Regulating Bill, being chosen for a General Court committee in May 1773 set up to defend the Company

against the proposed legislation.⁹ As the campaign against the Bill continued, Gregory sat on a similar committee, briefed to produce rival instructions for the new Bengal government.¹⁰ At this time he was acting closely with Rockingham, who held 'the Highest opinion' of Gregory's 'integrity and also on the solidity of his knowledge and judgement in E: India affairs',¹¹ and regarded him as a counterpoise to the Opposition spokesman in the General Court, the Duke of Richmond, known for the blustering style of his oratory.

However, such was his reputation for impartiality, that he was considered for the 'House list' of April 1774, but was dropped to allow in a protégé of Lord Sandwich.¹² He was accepted for this 'list' in the following year, and elected.¹³ Gregory became an active opponent of Hastings, in concert with Ministerial directors, Nanda Kumar being eventually executed under Hastings's government. In December 1775 Gregory carried a motion in the General Court condemning Hastings's actions in the Rohilla War as 'Acts of disobedience, wrong policy, and injustice',¹⁴ and, in the following May, was in favour of his recall.¹⁵

In the Commons he was chosen, with support from both sides of the House, for the Secret Committee set up to enquire into the war in the Carnatic.¹⁶ John Scott told Hastings that in the light of the Committee's investigations Gregory had now formed a more favourable opinion of Hastings's conduct.¹⁷ However, as Company chairman in May 1782, he 'played but a doubtful part' when called upon to oppose Dundas's move to recall Hastings,¹⁸ and, in June, was described to the governor-general by a correspondent more cynical than Scott as 'Your shifting friend

(the backward way) ... upon the whole against You, altho pretends a great deal of candour'.¹⁹

Gregory was forced to resign in July through illness, but was chosen as a commissioner by Fox in his India Bill. He died on 1 September 1810.²⁰

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1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 536.
 2. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 536.
 3. Barwell Letter-Book, B.P.P., vol. 13 (1916), p. 107: 'Account of Maharaja Nund Comar'.
 4. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., D546/1, f. 131: Robert Clive to John Walsh, 5 Feby. 1766.
 5. L.M., vol. 38 (1769), p. 218.
 6. Quoted in Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 537.
 7. Quoted in Khan, pp. 303-304.
 8. Khan, pp. 293-294.
 9. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/258, p. 239.
 10. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/258, p. 316.
 11. Copeland, vol. 2, p. 497: Lord Rockingham to Edmund Burke, [post 13 Decr. 1773].
 12. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, pp. 6-7.
 13. P.A., 11 April 1775.
 14. B.L., Add. MSS., 29136, f. 379^v: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 7 Decr. 1775.
 15. Gleig, vol. 2, pp. 59-68: Lauchlin Maclean to Warren Hastings, 25 June 1776.
 16. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 536.
 17. B.L., Add. MSS., 29152, ff. 535^v-536: John Scott to Warren Hastings, 30 Jany. 1782.
 18. Gleig, vol. 2, p. 480.
 19. B.L., Add. MSS., 29154, f. 479: John Woodman to Warren Hastings, 24 June 1782.
 20. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 536.
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HADLEY, Henry (1697-1771)

of Coney Street, Grey's Inn, London.

Director of the East India Company 1757-60, 1762-65.

b., 24 June 1697, 3rd. s. of George Hadley, Sheriff of Hertfordshire, 1691, by his w., Katherine Fitz-James; matric. Oriel College, ~~Cambridge~~, 21 May 1713; educ. at Leyden, 1715-c.1718; m. (1), c. 1730, Ann, prob. rel. of Professor Hoffman, of Saxony; 3s.; (2) Sarah _____. 1

Oxford,

Both Hadley's elder brothers achieved fame in the academic world, John as a mathematician and scientist, and George as a scientific writer, best known for his studies of the trade winds. Hadley, too, seems to have been involved in their experiments, while his own son, John, became professor of Chemistry at Cambridge.²

Leaving Cambridge in December 1715, Hadley went to Leyden to study medicine. On his return to England, financial difficulties seem to have forced him to seek outside the medical profession for more lucrative employment.³ He joined the service of the East India Company as a supercargo in 1738, and continued in this line until about 1755, by which date he had attained the rank of chief supercargo.⁴

As a director he seems, initially at least, to have supported the more traditional party in the Direction, opposing Sullivan's moves to deprive Holwell of the Bengal government,⁵ and being elected on Payne's (q.v.) 'list' in April 1758.⁶ However, he was 'double-listed' in April 1763,⁷ and did not oppose Spencer's Bengal appointment.⁸ He may have been favouring Sullivan's party by this date, as his second son, George, reputedly received a military appointment in Bengal in 1764 through the interest of Henry Vansittart.⁹ Hadley was certainly in opposition to Clive in the matter of the special powers

proposed for the Bengal select committee in May of that year.¹⁰

He was, however, elected to the Direction as a member of the 'House list' in April 1765.¹¹

He sold off all his India stock in April 1767,¹² and died at his house in Coney Street on 18 March 1771.¹³

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1. A Biographical Account of John Hadley, esq., V.P.R.S., the Inventor of the Quadrant and of his brothers, George and Henry (anon., n.d.), pp. 29-31; Al. Ox., vol. 2, pp. 627-628; D.N.B., vol. 8, pp. 87-89.
 2. A Biographical Account ..., loc. cit...
 3. Ibid...
 4. I.O.L., Ct. Bks., B/65, p. 242; B/73, p. 80.
 5. Holwell, p. 167.
 6. P.A., 4 April 1758.
 7. G.M., vol. 33 (1763), p. 199.
 8. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/80, p. 25.
 9. A Biographical Account ..., op. cit., p. 33.
 10. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/80, p. 82.
 11. G.M., vol. 35 (1765), p. 145.
 12. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/16, p. 370.
 13. G.M., vol. 41 (1771), p. 143; A Biographical Account ..., op. cit., p. 31.
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HALL, Richard (c.1730-1786)

of Hatton Garden, London.

Director of the East India Company 1773-74, 1776-79, 1781-84,
1786.

b., c. 1730, s. of 'Mr. Hall of Hertford'; m. Sarah,
da. of John Brown, brewer of Poplar, London; 2s.
4da.. 1

Hall took his oath as a Company commander in December 1760,²
and made four voyages to the East as captain of the Worcester
Indiaman between 1761 and 1771.³ As director with shipping
connections, he was assured of wide support in the General
Court, and was named in both the 'House' and 'Proprietors'
lists' before the 1773 election.⁴ Husband for the Worcester
throughout Hall's period in command had been the powerful
Richard Crabb, brother of Crabb Boulton (q.v.).⁵ Like the
Boultons, Hall was associated with the Company's ship-builders,
and may well have been re-elected to the Direction in 1776.⁶
John Perry, the younger, a prominent builder of Blackwall, was
named as a trustee in Hall's will.⁷

His stance in Company politics seems to have been generally
against Government. Soon after his election in 1773, he was
questioning an article in the proposed Regulating Bill which
dealt with the accounting of profit and loss on ships.⁸ Hall
was named in the anti-Ministerial 'Proprietors' list' in April
1774,⁹ and was receiving assistance from elements of Sullivan's
following. Sullivan wrote to Robert Palk in February 1775:

You have supported Captain Hall and Nath. Smith
[q.v.]. I wish you would ask them the same favour.
They have been applied to by several, and they will
not chuse to disoblige many Proprietors. 10

Hall acted with Sullivan in voting against Hastings's recall,¹¹
and sought the patronage of Hastings's friend, Francis Sykes,

as one 'whose warm wishes and Support M^r. Hastings hath not been without on several trying occasions'.¹²

Hall was in opposition to Sullivan by December 1783, when he was named as one of Fox's assistant commissioners. When Pitt's proposed India legislation was reviewed by the directors in the following year, Hall complained at the way the business was rushed through, leaving little time for discussion.¹³ In his opposition to Pitt he found common ground with Sullivan once again, who was on poor terms with the Ministry following Pitt's refusal to support his candidacy for a chair. Sullivan found a number of directors prepared to support him, and '3 more (not Friends) came over namely Lushington, Sparkes [qq.v.] and Hall'.¹⁴

He died in Hatton Garden on 23 November 1786.¹⁵

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1. Cussans, vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 79-80; G.M., vol. 36, pt. 2 (1786), p. 1093; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1148, f. 618 (1786): Will of Richard Hall. It has proved impossible to find a connection between Hall and the family of the ship's husband, Thomas Hall, also of Hertford.
 2. I.O.L., Mar. Misc., 651, p. 6.
 3. I.O.L., Mar. Rec. Cat., pp. 40, 42, 45, 47.
 4. P.A., 6 April 1773.
 5. Hardy (1), pp. 23, 33, 61.
 6. I.O.L., Tract 174: 'Considerations on the Important Benefits to be derived from the East-India Company's building and navigating their own ships. By the author of the Essay on the Rights of the East-India Company' (London, 1778), p. 22.
 7. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1148, f. 618 (1786): Will of Richard Hall.
 8. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/258, p. 284.
 9. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 17.
 10. Hist. MSS. Comm. Palk, p. 245: Laurence Sullivan to Robert Palk, 12 Feby. 1775.
 11. Gleig, vol. 2, p. 65: Lauchlin Macleane to Warren Hastings, 25 June 1776.

12. B.L., Add. MSS., 29147, f. 177: Richard Hall to Francis Sykes, 13 Jany. 1781.
 13. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/99, p. 774.
 14. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. hist., bl90, f. 33^v: Laurence Sullivan to ? , 10 Novr. 1784.
 15. G.M., vol. 36, pt. 2 (1786), p. 1093.
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HARRISON, John (1721-1794)

of Chigwell, Essex.

Director of the East India Company 1758-61, 1763-66, 1773
 (* from Octr.)-74*-75*-77,
 1779-82.

b., 1721, o. s. of Benjamin Harrison, apothecary,
 by Sarah, da. and h. of John Deane; educ. at West-
 minster school, 1737; Lincoln's Inn, 1738; Trinity
 College, Cambridge, 1739; m., 28 July 1747, Char-
 lotte, da. of Champion Branfill, by Mary, sis. of
 William Braund, director of the East India Company;
 3s. 8da.. 1

Director of the Bank of England 1788-94.

Director of the Sun Fire Office 1761-94.

Harrison began business as an iron founder in the firm of Andrew Harrison and Company, which supplied cannon to the East India Company's settlements, and pig iron as ballast for Indiamen in which Harrison had a part share.² His shipping ventures derived from his family connections, notably the Braunds, in whose activities a number of directors participated.³

He was named in the 'House list' of 1763 with Sullivan,⁴ probably as a result of his general line in support of the Company Direction against opposition, rather than from any bonds with Sullivan. He opposed Spencer's Bengal appointment,⁵ and Sullivan wrote in later years of a call he made on

Harrison, which was the 'first I ever made for we were never upon kind terms'.⁶ His importance as a director ensured his being 'double-listed' in subsequent elections during the 1760's,⁷ but his support was given to the existing majority in the Direction, which was favourable to Clive, and against attempts by various elements among the proprietors to introduce motions that might be prejudicial to the Company's interest. Thus he stood by the directors in May 1767 during attempts by speculators to petition Parliament against the proposed bill to limit rises in the Company dividend.⁸

Harrison became deputy chairman in October 1773, and co-operated with the new chairman, the Government supporter, Edward Wheler (q.v.), in furthering the wishes of the Ministry and Clive's party, which were acting together at the time. When a vacancy arose in the military command in Bombay, Harrison promised 'to forward ... in any point' the candidacy of Clive's friend, John Carnac.⁹

As a director of the old school, he saw the Company's role as primarily mercantile, and was against territorial expansion. It was felt that 'peaceful Plans for India ... [were] agreeable to his System'.¹⁰ He was therefore expected to be hostile to Hastings's policies in India, particularly the Rohilla War, which came up for discussion during Harrison's term as chairman. However, little business was carried out this year as a result of his continual absences through illness, and the apparent coolness of his relations with the other directors, as on one occasion, 'when thwarted in a favourite question ... he fell into a passion, left the Court and went next morning to Bath, where he staid a fortnight'.¹¹

He was forced to take a definite stand when the matter of Hastings's recall arose in May 1776. His deference to the wishes of Government dictated his stand. Lauchlin Maclean reported to Hastings:

Harrison spoke for an hour in the ablest manner for you; and then, to the surprise of all present, concluded, that though he would never acquiesce in your removal for criminality, yet it was necessary to do it on the ground of 'expediency'. Here the clue is unravelled. Welbore Ellis had been in a course of constant visits to Mr. Harrison for some time before, and, by some ministerial influence that we have not yet discovered ... [was] gained over. 12

When there was again talk of recalling Hastings in 1782, Harrison's reaction was predictable. John Scott told Hastings:

M^r Harrison the Director who is Greatly Alarmed at the Bare Idea of withstanding the Power of a House of Commons told me that it would be better Infinitely for me to Lett the Directors Manage this Business quietly and that they would take Care to make the Matter as smooth for you as Possible 13

Harrison felt obliged to accept the office of assistant commissioner in Fox's India Bill, 'conceiving the System of India Affairs to be irrevocably fixed, and that all resistance was vain'.¹⁴ His loyalty to the 'House list' in April 1784 led to his defeat in the wake of Fox's collapse.¹⁵ However, Atkinson (q.v.) was prepared to let him 'slip in' whenever a vacancy occurred, since Harrison was felt to be 'one of the most respectable of the old Directors and in general well-esteemed. Of a retired & timid Character or he might long Since have been at the head of the direction'.¹⁶

He died on 5 August 1794.¹⁷

1. Family Notes, Showing the Descendants of the Great-Grand-fathers of the Revd. Thomas Harrison, and Jemima-Elizabeth Branfill (Anon., priv. print., 1873, 1st. ed.), pp. 13, 19, 29-30, 45-46; Family Notes Supplement 2. Harrison (Anon., priv. print., n.d.), pp. 13-14.
 2. Family Notes Supplement 2, op. cit., pp. 14-15.
 3. Sutherland (2), pp. 117-118.
 4. G.M., vol. 33 (1763), p. 199.
 5. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/79, p. 302.
 6. B.L., Add. MSS., 29136, f. 381: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 7 Decr. 1775.
 7. In 1765, 1766 and 1768 (L.M., vol. 34 (1765), p. 208; P.A., 7 April 1766; L.M., vol. 37 (1768), p. 226).
 8. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/257, p. 90.
 9. E.U.L., MSS. Photo 1697, correspondence, 1766-74: Henry Strachey to Robert Clive, [c. Octr. 1773].
 10. N.L.S., MS. 8252, f. 114: General James Stuart to Andrew Stuart, 9 Jany. 1780.
 11. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., C7/A, p. 145: Edward Wheler to Philip Francis, 24 Novr. 1775; I.O.L., MSS. Eur., D18, p. 299: John Mackenzie to Philip Francis, 2 Jany. 1776.
 12. Gleig, vol. 2, pp. 63-64: Lauchlin Macleane to Warren Hastings, 25 June 1776 (postscript dated 10 Augt. 1776).
 13. B.L., Add. MSS., 29154, f. 349^v: John Scott to Warren Hastings, 21 June 1782.
 14. Furber (1), p. 495: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 31 Jany. 1785.
 15. Lewis, vol. 25, p. 491, n. 30.
 16. Furber (1), p. 495: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 31 Jany. 1785.
 17. Family Notes, Showing the Descendants ..., op. cit., p. 13.
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HARRISON, Samuel (? -1765)

of Red Lion Street, Holborn, London.

Director of the East India Company 1759, 1761-62.

b., ?, nephew of Robert Harrison, mercer of London;
m., 13 Novr. 1729, in Fort William, Bengal, Mary
Haskoll; 2s. 2da.. 1

Harrison became a Company director in 1759 after spending over thirty years in the East in a number of occupations. The names of his sureties at the various stages of his career with the Company indicate that he belonged to a well-to-do mercantile family in London.² With the help of his uncle and patron, Robert Harrison, a cloth merchant, he went to India as a 'free merchant' in 1722,³ but was accepted for the Company service in Madras eight years later.⁴ He became a member of council in 1744,⁵ but was forced to return to England for the sake of his health,⁶ leaving his wife in India to arrange for the remittance of his fortune. On his return to London, he became a supercargo in the China service, until his retirement in 1755.⁷

Harrison began fairly extensive dealings in India stock in November 1757.⁸ He was an unsuccessful member of Sullivan's 'list' in 1758,⁹ but was brought in a year later. However, by 1763 he was supporting Rous (q.v.) and Clive, and, in this, and in the following year, sought election on the 'Proprietors' list', without success.¹⁰

Despite his long career in India and China, he left little more than £4,000 in his will.¹¹ He died in Red Lion Square on 3 May 1765.¹²

1. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/56, p. 545; I.O.L., Bengal Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, 1713-1754, N1/1, pt. 1, p. 106; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/908, f. 185 (1765): Will of Samuel Harrison.
 2. Manning Lethieullier, a Turkey merchant, and member of the influential Huguenot family of that name, stood surety for Harrison in 1746 (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/68, p. 147).
 3. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/56, pp. 545, 571.
 4. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/61, p. 233.
 5. Dodwell (2), p. 417.
 6. Dodwell (1), p. 11.
 7. He was appointed on 26 Novr. 1746 (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/69, p. 169).
 8. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/12, p. 303.
 9. P.A., 4 April 1758.
 10. L.M., vols. 32 (1763), p. 224; 33 (1764), p. 215.
 11. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/908, f. 185 (1765): Will of Samuel Harrison.
 12. G.M., vol. 35 (1765), p. 247.
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HAWKESWORTH, John (c.1719-1773)

of Bromley, Kent.

Director of the East India Company April-Novr. 1773.

b., c. 1719, 'of humble origins'; m. Mary ____;
LL.D., 1756. 1

Before entering the world of East India affairs, Hawkesworth was a recognised playwright, a friend of Samuel Johnson, and editor of the Adventurer periodical.² Through the mediation of David Garrick, the publisher, he received a contract from the Admiralty, worth a reputed £6,000, to produce an edition of Captain James Cook's voyages in the south Pacific. 'Soon after this, he purchased some portion of India stock; and having made a speech or two at the India House was much feasted by the directors'.³

Hawkesworth, in fact, was a close family friend of Mary Barwell, and was brought into the Direction through her influence (with the assistance of the Treasury secretary, John Robinson)⁴ to represent the interests of her brother, Richard.⁵ However, Hawkesworth died on 17 November 1773 in Lime Street, London.⁶ He was believed to have succumbed to a 'nervous fever' brought on by the excesses of 'high living', and a series of scathing reviews of his edition of Cook's travels.⁷

1. D.N.B., vol. 9, p. 203; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 6/149 (1773): .
Administration of John Hawkesworth.
2. D.N.B., vol. 9, pp. 203-204.
3. Sir James Prior, Life of Edmund Malone, Editor of Shakespeare ... (London, 1860), p. 441: 'Maloniana'.
4. Bute MSS., Europe Letter-Book of the Hon. Frederick Stuart, p. 61: Frederick Stuart to his sister, 25 Octr. 1773:
'Dr. Hawksworth is a particular friend of Mrs. Barwell. Last year She exerted all her Influence to get him into

the Direction & She Succeeded one of the means by which She carried her point was by you ____ Robinson whose Influence She gain'd by a Mr Todd a relation of his with whom She is connected ...'.

5. Barwell Letter-Book, B.P.P., vol. 11 (1915), p. 50:
Richard Barwell to Mary Barwell, 10 Sept. 1773.
 6. G.M., vol. 43 (1773), p. 582.
 7. Prior, loc. cit..
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HUNTER, John (?1724-1802)

of Gubbins, nr. Potter's Bar, Hertfordshire.

Director of the East India Company 1781-84, 1786-89, 1791-94*, 1796-99, 1801-d. Jany. 1802.

b., ?1724; m. Anne ____, a widow, relative of William Hornby, governor of Bombay, 1771-84, having 1 da. at least.

Sheriff of Hertfordshire 1780-81.

M.P. for Leominster 1784-June 1797.¹

Hunter appears as a 'free merchant' in Bombay by 1762, when his sureties were Samuel Hough and Andrew Moffatt,² both close shipping connections of Laurence Sullivan. He seems to have been a partner in the Bombay firm of Hunter, Fell and Ramsay, ship-owners and merchants, who had extensive contacts with merchants and Company servants in all the main Company settlements.³ By the mid-1770's, when he came to England, Hunter had, 'by long success in trade', 'raised a very ample fortune, upwards of 100,000£'.⁴

Following the investigations of Henry Dundas's Parliamentary Secret Committee, not only Hastings, but also William Hornby, governor of Bombay, came under attack. As a director Hunter co-operated with the Hastings party in the defence of

both men.⁵ He was on good terms with Atkinson (q.v.), both being members of the 'Arcot' group through their concerns in the Nawab's debts.⁶ Atkinson was confident that, in any clash of loyalties with Sullivan, Hunter would encourage his friends to favour Atkinson.⁷

He was one of some fourteen members of the 'Arcot' interest brought into Parliament by Pitt in 1784.⁸ He continued to support Pitt in Parliament, and Dundas at East India House, voting in favour of Dundas in the matter of the King's regiments.⁹ He was on close terms with David Scott (q.v.), who was also a former Bombay 'free merchant', and was admitted to a share in a lucrative scheme, devised by Scott, and designed to reduce the Company's debt in India by using the resources of independent merchants. However, such favouritism was condemned, and Hunter stood down.¹⁰ He was Dundas's nominee for the deputy chair in 1789, but the affair was mishandled.¹¹

He died on 16 December 1802.¹²

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1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 656; G.M., vol. 73, pt. 1 (1803), p. 88. Hunter was also said to have taken a 'mulatto' as his second wife.
 2. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/78, p. 341.
 3. Tam. Nad. Arch., Mayor's Court Miscellaneous, xii(a), Francis Jourdain's Letter-Book, no. 9 (no foliation): Francis Jourdain to John Hunter, 6 Mar. 1770 seq.
 4. G.M., vol. 73, pt. 1 (1803), p. 88.
 5. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/260, pp. 209, 217; I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/98, p. 536. Not only had Hunter's wife been a relative of Hornby, but Hornby himself married a daughter of Hunter. Thomas Holmes, Hornby's son-in-law, inherited Hunter's estate and took his name (G.M., vol. 73, pt. 1 (1803), p. 88).
 6. Philips (1), p. 30 and n. 5. Hunter was listed in the 'Consolidated Debt' of 1767 (Gurney, p. 326, Appendix 1).
 7. Furber (1), p. 491: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas,

- 31 Jany. 1785.
8. Philips (1), 30 and n. 5.
 9. Auber, p. 440.
 10. Philips (3), vol. 1, p. 2.
 11. S.R.O., MS. GD/51/3/15, ff. 39-40: David Scott to Henry Dundas, 9 April 1789.
 12. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 656.
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HURLOCK, Joseph (c.1714-1793)

of Chelsea, London and of Freathby, Leicestershire.

Director of the East India Company 1768, 1770-73.

b., c. 1714, s. of Joseph Hurlock, surgeon, of Coleman Street, London; m., Jany. 1755, Sarah, eld. da. of Sir John Hartopp, 4th. Bt., of Freathby, Leicestershire; lda.. 1

Deputy Governor of Fort Marlborough 1746-51.

Hurlock went to Sumatra as a writer with the Company in 1731.² He made a number of voyages in the region as a supercargo, thereby enhancing his fortune, and succeeded to the deputy governorship in March 1746.³ He showed himself a vigorous leader, and inflamed relations with the Dutch, who claimed that, at his instigation, the English had 'encreased their Fortunes by an unlawful Trade in the Netherland Companys Territory and by money ... [had] corrupted the Natives from their Obedience to them, and to accept the English Company as their Masters'.⁴

On his departure in 1752, Hurlock still had money tied up in Sumatra. In realising, and remitting, his assets in subsequent years, he encountered a number of problems which may well have made it necessary for him to enter the Company

Direction. The ruthlessness of his attorney in Sumatra during the late 1750's in collecting money due to Hurlock was reported to the directors,⁵ and, in June 1760, they decided to allow him no more bills on the Company, following receipt of further reports that he had defrauded the Company of large sums while deputy governor.⁶

He appears as a supporter of the directors at meetings of the General Court in 1767,⁷ and was elected to the Direction in the following April. Though unable to retain his seat in 1769,⁸ he was narrowly returned a year later. By early 1774, he was actively supporting the opponents of Government in the General Court, such as Sullivan and the Duke of Richmond.⁹ Hurlock stood on the 'Proprietors' list' in April,¹⁰ and was pledged, if successful, to support Sullivan's candidacy in 1775.¹¹ However, his defeat brought relief to Lord North, who regarded him as one of 'the most violent opposers of the interests of Government'.¹²

The remittance of his fortune continued to give Hurlock cause for concern. In February 1771 he had brought to the directors' notice money paid into the Company treasury in Sumatra in 1755 by his attornies, and which he still had not received.¹³ His lack of success in this affair may have influenced his alliance with Sullivan, and, by 1774, forced him to consider returning to the East. He was proposed for the office of supervisor to visit the Company's settlement in Borneo, and to investigate the activities of the servants there. However, news of the settlement's fall seems to have put an end to the scheme.¹⁴

Hurlock inherited large properties in Leicestershire as

a result of his marriage, and remained a proprietor of some standing in the General Court until his death. He died at his house in Chelsea on 10 August 1793.¹⁵

1. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/61, p. 152; B/63, p. 190; B.P.B., p. 1269.
 2. I.O.L., Factory Records: Sumatra, G/35/8, p. 538.
 3. I.O.L., Factory Records: Sumatra, G/35/9, pp. 1-2, 156-158, 220.
 4. I.O.L., Factory Records: Sumatra, G/35/9, p. 335.
 5. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/74, p. 253.
 6. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/76, p. 72.
 7. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/257, pp. 90, 94, 116.
 8. G.M., vol. 39 (1769), p. 211.
 9. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/259, p. 27.
 10. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 7.
 11. B.L., Add. MSS., 29134, f. 407: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 15 April 1774.
 12. Fortescue, vol. 3, p. 92: Lord North to the King, 14 April 1774.
 13. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/86, p. 370.
 14. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/259, pp. 112, 169.
 15. G.M., vol. 63, pt. 2 (1793), p. 773.
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IMPEY, Michael (? -1794)

of Hammersmith, Middlesex.

Director of the East India Company 1736-39, 1741-44, 1746-49, 1751-54, 1756-57.

b., ?, eld. s. of Elijah Impey, merchant, of Butterwick House, Hammersmith, apparently by his 2nd. w., Martha, da. of James Fraser, LL.D., of Chelsea Hospital; m., 11 Sept. 1773, Jane Sarah ____; 1s. 2da.. 1

Impey appears in the London directories at least as early as 1736, when he became an East India director.² His father was a merchant trading to the South Seas, and to the East Indies, and, at his death in 1750, Impey inherited the business, and considerable property in Hammersmith.³ By April 1758, when the first disputed election of the period occurred, he was a director of great experience. It was natural that he should side with John Payne (q.v.), also a director of long standing, against Sullivan's 'New Gentry', and was only narrowly defeated.⁴

He made unsuccessful attempts to return to the Direction in the late 'sixties as a candidate on the 'Proprietors' list', in 1767 and 1768.⁵ He was undoubtedly acting in these years with his brother, Sir Elijah Impey, a member of the coalition of speculators which hoped to achieve an increase in the Company dividend by securing the return of Sullivan to the Direction.⁶ Impey 'split' three votes before the election of 1769,⁷ but, despite the success of Sullivan and other candidates on his 'list', was himself defeated.⁸

When Sir Elijah Impey was appointed Chief Judge of the Supreme Court in Bengal by the Regulating Act, Impey handled his affairs in England, and was drawn into his defence as he too, like Hastings, became the object of attacks from Philip

Francis and the 'majority' on the Bengal council. His ties with Sullivan remained strong in these years, and were consolidated through acting with Thomas Lane, Sullivan's 'man of business', in the administration of Sir Elijah's remittances.⁹

He died in Hammersmith on 24 June 1794, at 'an advanced age'.¹⁰

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1. Elijah B. Impey, Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey, Knt., First Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature, at Fort William ... (London, 1846), pp. 2-3; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1247, f. 375 (1794): Will of Michael Impey.
 2. The Directory ... of Eminent Traders ... (London, 1736), p. 27.
 3. Impey, loc. cit..
 4. I.O.L., Orme MSS., O.V. 293, p. 103: John Payne to Robert Orme, 30 Octr. 1758.
 5. L.M., vols. 36 (1767), p. 206; 37 (1768), p. 226.
 6. Colebrooke, pt. 1, p. 110, n. 1.
 7. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/16, p. 460.
 8. G.M., vol. 39 (1769), p. 211.
 9. B.L., Add. MSS., 16260, ff. 118-120^v: Sir Elijah Impey to Thomas Lane, 6 Augt. 1782.
 10. G.M., vol. 64, pt. 1 (1794), p. 582.
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INGLIS, Sir Hugh (1744-1820)

of Queen Anne Street, London and of Milton Bryant, Bedfordshire.

Director of the East India Company 1784-87, 1789-92, 1794-96*-97**, 1799-1800**-02, 1804-07, 1809-11*-12.

b., 30 April 1744, 13th. s. of Robert Inglis, of Edinburgh, by Mary, o. da. of James Russell; educ. at Edinburgh High School; m. (1) Catherine, da. and coh. of Henry Johnson, of Milton Bryant (d. 1 May 1792); 1s. 2da.; (2) Mary, o. surv. da. of George Wilson, of Bedford Row, London; cr. Bt., June 1801. 1

M.P. for Ashburton 1802-06.

Inglis arrived in India in 1762 as midshipman on an East Indiaman. Through a member of the Russell family in Dacca he was befriended by John Cartier, the factory chief, who committed his trading interests to Inglis's care. He became Cartier's private secretary on the latter's appointment to the Bengal government in 1769.² Under Cartier's patronage he was able to expand his own commercial concerns, and left Bengal in 1775 with 'a moderate fortune'.³ He maintained a number of contacts with India, notably with his cousin, Claud Russell, a Madras councillor, who was arranging for the remittance of Inglis's remaining assets in India, and whose pretensions to the Madras government Inglis was expected to further in London.⁴

His friends on returning to England were mainly 'East Indians', such as Du Pr  (q.v.),⁵ who were concerned to defend Hastings from attempts to engineer his dismissal, and it was precisely on this interest that he was brought into the Direction in April 1784 as a member of the triumphant 'Proprietors' list'.⁶ In Indian matters Atkinson (q.v.) felt that Inglis was 'devoted' to Sullivan,⁷ as when he seconded Sullivan's objections to Macartney's assumption of the Madras revenues.⁸

However, in other questions, Inglis was considered

'very much inclined' to Baring (q.v.) and Atkinson, who was impressed by his 'good plain understanding'.⁹ While Atkinson in January 1785 was still hoping to secure Sullivan's co-operation with Government in future elections, by offering him Ministerial support for the chair, Inglis seemed to be the most suitable candidate to hold the deputy chair under him in the projected 1787 Direction.¹⁰ However, Pitt's hostility to Sullivan led to the scheme's being abandoned.

Inglis opposed Dundas in the matter of the King's regiments for India in 1787,¹¹ but was regarded as a 'staunch' friend by Dundas's henchman, David Scott (q.v.), during the election of 1789.¹² He co-operated with Dundas in subsequent years, and, when chosen deputy chairman in 1796, was described by Scott as 'able, industrious, perfectly correct and of a most accommodating disposition'.¹³

He died at his house in Queen Anne Street on 21 August 1820.¹⁴

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1. Sketch of the Life of Sir Hugh Inglis, Bart. (Anon., London, 1821), pp. 5, 11, 13.
 2. Ibid., pp. 6-7.
 3. Furber (1), p. 485: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 22 July 1784.
 4. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., E276, 'Political Letter Book', vol. 2, letter no. 1 (no foliation): Claud Russell to Hugh Inglis, 6 Feby. 1777; 'Letter Book', letter no. 46 (no foliation): Claud Russell to Dr. [Francis] Russell, 15 Octr. 1776.
 5. B.L., Add. MSS., 29166, ff. 7-8: Hugh Inglis to Warren Hastings, 2 Septr. 1784. Inglis wrote that he had long been 'in habits of friendship and intimacy with your friends'.
 6. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. hist., bl90, f. 33: Laurence Sullivan to ?, 10 Novr. 1784.
 7. Furber (1), p. 485: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 22 July 1784.

8. B.L., Add. MSS., 29166, ff. 368-368^v: John Scott to Warren Hastings, 30 Octr. 1784.
 9. Furber (1), p. 485: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 22 July 1784.
 10. Furber (1), p. 494: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 31 Jany. 1785.
 11. Auber, p. 441.
 12. S.R.O., MS. GD/51/3/15, f. 39^v: David Scott to Henry Dundas, 9 April 1789.
 13. Philips (3), p. 68: David Scott to Sir John Shore, 27 April 1796.
 14. G.M., vol. 90, pt. 2 (1820), p. 277.
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JAMES, Sir William (1722-1783)

of Park Farm Place, Eltham in Kent and of Gerard Street, London.
 Director of the East India Company 1768-71, 1773-76*, 1778*-79**
 -81*, 1783.

b., 5 Sept. 1722, poss. s. of a Pembrokeshire miller; m., by 1765, Anne, da. and coh. of Edmond Goddard, of Hartham, Wiltshire; ls. lda.; cr. Bt., 25 July 1778.

M.P. for West Looe 1774-16 Decr. 1783.

Elder Brother of Trinity House 1769-83.¹

Of obscure origins, James had joined the Company's Bombay marine force about 1747, and rose to the rank of commodore. He returned to England in 1758 with a substantial fortune, much of which had been acquired by the capture of Maratha piratical strongholds on the east coast of India.² He entered Company politics on the side of his former Bombay colleagues, Sullivan, Lane and Hough, and stood on the 'Proprietors' list' between 1765 and 1767.³ He was 'double-listed' a year later, and elected.⁴ He was becoming closely associated with Lord Sandwich, through whose influence he became an Elder Brother at Trinity House.

He supported the Ministry party in the General Court during the 1770's,⁵ and was brought into the 'House list' in 1774 by the Government, though Clive would only use his influence in his favour if James gave up attempts to secure the Bombay government, for which he was a candidate in competition with Clive's nominee, John Carnac.⁶ However, James proved evasive until his real motives came to light. Strachey, Clive's secretary, reported:

James's Object is at last brought to light - He would leave the field to Carnac, if he could get a Seat in Parliament - this he said to Robinson, who immediately informed Lord N - Lord N is so strenuous for Carnac, that he says he will endeavour to find means of gratifying the Opponent. 7

He went on to receive a Government contract in 1776 to provision troops in Canada, having, it was said, solicited Ministerial favour on the grounds that he had lent large sums to Colebrooke (q.v.) in 1772, and was now in financial difficulties.⁸

His old ties with the 'East Indians' made his position awkward when the question of Hastings's recall came up in 1776. Though Maclean believed that James had been finally turned against Hastings by Government promises to support him for the deputy chair,⁹ he continued to play the role of mediator. As deputy he sought a compromise solution, wishing 'any expedient could be fallen upon that would content both parties'.¹⁰ His Ministerial ties proved the stronger, however, and he voted for the recall motion, but for 'expediency' rather than 'criminality'.¹¹ He entered a protest when the directors revoked their decision following a General Court vote of confidence in the governor-general.¹²

At Trinity House, where Macleane claimed James was 'promoted to everything he could wish',¹³ he acted closely with Lord Sandwich. Their intimacy, when James was chairman, facilitated harmonious relations between the Company and the Admiralty, necessary on the organisation of protection for Company vessels during the American War. In return for the 'active & effectual sincerity' of Sandwich's support in the political arena, James allowed him a large share of his Indian patronage.¹⁴

In 1781 he was chosen as deputy during Sullivan's year in the chair. The Hastings party was now confident of James's assistance. Hastings was told:

The Baronet [sic James] hath been ever well inclined to our cause; and though, when ministry drove him the other way, he yielded to act for them, it was unwillingly; and I dare say his approaching chairmanship will be favourable to us. 15

James now began to co-operate with Sullivan, interceding for him with Lord North before the 1783 election, when moves were afoot to engineer Sullivan's defeat.¹⁶ Both men were accused of obstructing the Parliamentary Select Committee on Bengal affairs by altering the Company's records, though James felt that the charges were 'absolutely false and groundless'.¹⁷ At his death, on 16 December 1783, he was a staunch follower of Sullivan's 'Old' party at East India House.¹⁸

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1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 672. James's date of birth, hitherto unknown, has been ascertained from Chaplin Abstracts, 270/1.
 2. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 672.
 3. G.M., vol. 35 (1765), p. 195; P.A., 7 April 1766; L.M., vol. 36 (1767); p. 200.

4. L.M., vol. 37 (1768), p. 226.
 5. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/258, pp. 47, 214.
 6. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, pp. 9, 10-11.
 7. E.U.L., MSS. Photo 1697, correspondence, 1766-74: Henry Strachey to Robert Clive, 25 Feby. 1774.
 8. Baker, p. 34.
 9. Gleig, vol. 2, p. 58: Lauchlin Macleane to Warren Hastings, 25 June 1776.
 10. Gleig, vol. 2, p. 59: Lauchlin Macleane to Warren Hastings, 25 June 1776.
 11. Gleig, vol. 2, p. 59: Lauchlin Macleane to Warren Hastings, 25 June 1776.
 12. Gleig, vol. 2, p. 70: Lauchlin Macleane to Warren Hastings, 25 June 1776.
 13. Gleig, vol. 2, p. 58: Lauchlin Macleane to Warren Hastings, 25 June 1776.
 14. Sandwich MSS., F39/3: William James to Lord Sandwich, 2 Feby. [1778].
 15. Gleig, vol. 2, p. 349: Samuel Pechell to Warren Hastings, 27 Novr. 1781.
 16. Gleig, vol. 2, p. 517: John Scott to Warren Hastings, 23 March 1783.
 17. Quoted in Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 673.
 18. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 673; Sutherland (1), p. 378.
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JOHNSTONE, George (1730-1787)

of Westerhall, Dumfriesshire.

Director of the East India Company Jany.-April 1784, 1785.

b., 1730, 4th. s. of Sir James Johnstone, 3rd. Bt. of Westerhall, by Barbara, da. of Alexander Murray, 4th. Lord Elibank; m., 31 Jany. 1782, in Lisbon, Charlotte Dee; ls..

M.P. for Cockermouth 24 May 1768-74; Appleby 1774-80; Lostwithiel 22 Feby. 1786-Feby. 1787; Ilchester 22 Feby. 1786-Feby. 1787.

Governor of West Florida 1764-67.¹

Though becoming a director in 1784, Johnstone's real significance in Company politics lies in his role as one of the most influential proprietors of the period, and member of a family faction possessing sufficient power to influence the course of events during the troubled history of the Company in the 1760's and 1770's. The career of his brother, John, a Bengal servant dismissed from the Company for malpractice, first prompted his participation in General Court debates. With the large number of connections he could bring into the field, Johnstone supported Clive's efforts to acquire the Bengal governorship, in return for a promise of assistance in securing John Johnstone's reinstatement.² Clive's failure to honour his promise, and his subsequent dismissal of John Johnstone while governor of Bengal,³ brought the Johnstones and Sullivan together as members of the opposition coalition in the Company, whose aim was to return Sullivan to power. The Johnstone group, which was also involved in speculation in stocks, achieved its main aim in May 1767, when the criminal proceedings against John were dropped, and the dividend raised.⁴

The Johnstones continued to constitute an important force

in the Company in their own right. They were initially not prepared to support the Sullivan party's vigorous efforts to regain control of the Direction in April 1769. However, a late move to Sullivan's side, probably as a result of pressure from common allies,⁵ helped swing the scales of victory to Sullivan.⁶ The entente was to be of a temporary nature only, and Sullivan complained after the election of 1770 that the Johnstones' opposition had cost him his seat. He told Vansittart (q.v.):

The Family I am satisfied have a riveted, implacable Enmity against me and you. 7

During the early years of the North Ministry the family's hostility to Clive was taken almost to the lengths of persecution by George Johnstone. Following his appointment to a Parliamentary Select Committee on Indian affairs, he pressed for an investigation into the activities of Company servants in Bengal since 1757, with the aim, it would seem, of either discrediting Clive through his acquisitions, or showing that John Johnstone's gains were as justifiable as Clive's.⁸ Johnstone took a vigorous stand on behalf of the proprietors' interests against North's Regulating Bill, being elected to all three committees chosen to prepare the Company's case between December 1772 and March 1773.⁹ In this, and in subsequent attempts to baulk the implementation of the Act, he came to act with the Duke of Richmond.¹⁰ As part of his campaign, Johnstone stood for the Direction in 1773 and 1774,¹¹ but was defeated on both occasions.

The question of Hastings's continuance in Bengal provided an opportunity for opposition groups to harass the

the Government, and so an alliance of convenience was formed once again between Sullivan and Johnstone. Thus, Lauchlin Macleane, in his efforts to end the crisis by arranging a settlement between Hastings and the Ministry, found little support forthcoming from Johnstone, who stood to gain from a continuance of the situation.¹² Now alienated from Sullivan and the Hastings group once again, Johnstone typically changed sides.

In search of employment, he restored his position with North, and received an appointment to the Government peace commission to America, thereby incurring ridicule as a result of his earlier criticism of the commission's leader.¹³ On his return, he was drawn into the Hastings camp yet again through his Scottish connections, John and James Macpherson, and through his part in opposing the idea of increased Government control in Company affairs, as proposed by Fox's India Bill. He was consequently elected to the Direction in January 1784 with the backing of the coalition in the Company hostile to Fox.

However, following the establishment of the Pitt Ministry, Johnstone's constant wrangling, and his unpredictability, were seen as a threat to the Government's maintaining a workable majority in the Direction. It was proposed that he be found an alternative post, inconsistent with his continuing as a director.¹⁴ The problem was overcome by Johnstone's retirement from the Direction after 1785, apparently because of poor health. He died on 24 May 1787.¹⁵

1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, pp. 683-684.
 2. For the Indian career of John Johnstone, c.f. Malcolm M. Stuart, 'Lying under the Company's Displeasure', South Asian Review, vol. 8, no. 1 (1974), pp. 43-52.
 3. Johnstone had been re-instated after Clive left for India.
 4. Sutherland (1), pp. 122-123, 128, 171.
 5. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Photo Eur. 63, letter no. 640: John Johnstone to William [Johnstone] Pulteney, 20 Octr. 1768.
 6. Sutherland (1), p. 189. Though Johnstone is said to have stood unsuccessfully in this election (Sutherland (1), p. 190), it would seem more likely that the defeated candidate was in fact his brother, John, now back from Bengal (G.M., vol. 39 (1769), p. 211).
 7. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. hist., b190, f. 7^v: Laurence Sullivan to Henry Vansittart, 28 May 1770.
 8. Malcolm, vol. 3, p. 298; Sutherland (1), p. 231.
 9. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/258, pp. 80, 141, 239.
 10. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/258, p. 316.
 11. P.A., 7 April 1773; I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 17.
 12. Gleig, vol. 2, p. 72: Lauchlin Maclean to Warren Hastings, 10 Novr. 1776.
 13. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 684.
 14. Furber (1), p. 490: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 31 Jany. 1785.
 15. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 685.
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JONES, Robert (1704-1774)

of Clement's Lane, London and of Babraham, Cambridgeshire.

Director of the East India Company 1754-57, 1765-68.

b., Feby. 1704, in Wales, bro. of John Jones,
Receiver of land tax for Berkshire, 1759; m. ?;
lda., Ann, who m. James Whorwood Adeane, M.P.

Elder Brother of Trinity House 1753-74.

M.P. for Huntingdon 1754-17 Feby. 1774.¹

Jones, a City banker and Portugal merchant, was said to have once commanded a vessel in the Lisbon trade.² He was listed in 1754, on entering Parliament, as a 'wine merchant intimate with Captain Montagu', probably a relative of Lord Sandwich, Jones's political patron.³ Jones sat in the House on Sandwich's interest, and the connection, the origins of which are obscure, may go back at least as far as 1753, when Jones became an Elder Brother of Trinity House.

He was said to have entered the Company Direction through the interest of John Payne (q.v.).⁴ However, his allegiances in the Commons, and in the Company, were to be to Sandwich. He held Government contracts from 1763, in partnership with Peregrine Cust (q.v.), and became one of George Grenville's financial advisers.⁵ In accordance with the line taken by the Ministry in April 1764 in support of Clive's party, Jones was held answerable for the creation of ten votes from Clive's stock holdings.⁶ He was considered as a possible candidate by Government planners for the Company chair this year,⁷ and co-operated again in the following April with Clive's agents during the election.⁸

When Sandwich went into opposition, following the collapse of the Grenville Ministry, Jones voted with the dominant majority in the Direction. With Sandwich once more

at the Admiralty under Grafton, Jones became the most active of his growing personal interest in the Direction. The growth of an 'independent' party in the Direction, led by Colebrooke (q.v.), was largely a result of the increasing Ministerial influence, and apprehensions that the Grafton Administration intended to force Jones on the directors as chairman.⁹ Such dissensions were set aside with the onset of the 1769 election, and Jones, with his Ministerial connections, acted with Colebrooke in opposing Sullivan's attempts to return to power. Though Jones was not eligible for re-election, he was active behind the scenes. With prominent directors he borrowed sizable amounts from the holdings of Lord Holland, whose promise of support Jones himself had obtained,¹⁰ and from important proprietors well-disposed to Clive.¹¹

After leaving the Direction, Jones continued to be active for the Ministry, more particularly for Lord Sandwich, in 'backstairs' politics at East India House. When attempts were being made in 1769 by the Ministry to bring about a reconciliation of all parties in the Company, it was hoped that Sullivan would be disposed to work in greater harmony with Jones.¹² However, no real agreement was worked out until 1770, when North promised his support to Sullivan in the election of the following year. Jones's personal relations with Sullivan did not improve, however, despite efforts to bring them together by Macleane, who, 'thinking that he had been treated with duplicity, wrote letters of threat and expostulation to Jones, copies of which ... evince [-d] the impossibility of Sullivan ever having to do with Jones again'.¹³

Though Jones was put forward by Administration as a candidate for the 1771 election, Sullivan proved unwilling to consider his inclusion in the 'House list', thereby incurring the wrath of Sandwich, and ensuring his own defeat.¹⁴ During negotiations within the Ministry relative to the number of Sandwich's followers to be included in the 'House list' for April 1774, Jones was no longer considered, since he was 'in a dying State'.¹⁵

He died on 17 February 1774, leaving property and holdings in the funds worth £125,000.¹⁶

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1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, pp. 12, 691. Jones's date, and place, of birth have been ascertained from Chaplin Abstracts, 243/1.
 2. W.K. Firminger (ed.), The Narrative of the Life of a Gentleman long resident in India by G.F. Grand (Calcutta, 1910), p. 2.
 3. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 691.
 4. Firminger, op. cit., p. 11.
 5. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 691.
 6. N.L.W., MS. 85, p. 17.
 7. Jucker, p. 271: Joseph Salvador to Charles Jenkinson, 6 March 1764.
 8. I.O.L., Home Misc. Ser., 808, p. 231: John Walsh to Robert Clive, [1765].
 9. Colebrooke, pt. 1, pp. 136-137; Sutherland (1), p. 178.
 10. Sandwich MSS., F41/44: Robert Jones to Lord Sandwich, 21 Sept. 1768.
 11. Sutherland (3), p. 478.
 12. Sutherland (1), p. 199.
 13. Colebrooke, pt. 1, p. 199.
 14. B.L., Add. MSS., 29133, f. 534^v: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 28 April 1773.
 15. E.U.L., MSS. Photo 1697, correspondence, 1766-74: Henry Strachey to Robert Clive, 16 Decr. 1773.
 16. Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 692.
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LASCELLES, Peter (? -c.1776)

of Knights, Hertfordshire and of Marsk, Yorkshire.

Director of the East India Company 1770, 1772-75.

b., ?, poss. s. of William Lascelles, gent. of Durham, and bro. of Rev. Robert Lascelles; m. Jane Haversham; his eld. da. m. Nathaniel William Wraxall, M.P.. 1

Lascelles, of Yorkshire origin, appears in the Company's marine service in 1744 as a surgeon,² but, by 1753, had attained the rank of chief mate on the York Indiaman,³ and assumed command of the ship four years later. He made three voyages to India, between 1757 and 1766,⁴ being ship-wrecked off the Irish coast after the first.⁵ His early shipping connections were with the husband, Thomas Hall, and his family business acquaintances,⁶ and later with Sir William James.⁷ Support from the influential shipping bloc ensured Lascelles wide backing in elections. Chosen in 1770, he came high in the poll in each of his succeeding years as a director.

He seems generally to have supported the ruling majority in the Direction against opposition from the General Court, and to have been well-disposed to the North Ministry. He was named in a list of six commissioners in 1772 put forward by Sullivan and Colebrooke to visit India, but acted with Government followers in April 1773 in calling for a ballot on a motion to petition against the Ministry's terms for the proposed legislation relating to the Company.⁸ His conduct in support of the Government may have been motivated by his desire for an Indian appointment, following the collapse of the supervisory scheme in 1772. North wrote in June 1773 that Lascelles was one of a group of men who had presented themselves in the hopes of receiving office under the

Regulating Act.⁹

He was elected in April 1774 as a member of the 'House list', which was enjoying Ministerial backing.¹⁰

He had died by May 1776.¹¹

1. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1020, f. 233 (1776): Will of Peter Lascelles; Al. Camb., pt. 2, vol. 4, p. 100; Guildhall, MS. 15597; Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 662. The evidence of these sources indicates that Lascelles was brother of Rev. Robert Lascelles, Vicar of Gilling, Yorkshire, and a distant relative of the better known branch of the family of this name, a number of whose members, also from Yorkshire, were M.P.'s and City merchants (Lewis P. Curtis, Letters of Laurence Sterne (Oxford, 1935), p. 125, n. 7; Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, pp. 22-23; Richard Pares, 'A London West-India Merchant House, 1740-1769', in Essays presented to Sir Lewis Namier (London, 1956), pp. 75-107). A member of this family, Captain Henry Lascelles, commanded the York some years before Lascelles (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/66, p. 200), while another, Daniel Lascelles, M.P., was owner charter-party for Lascelles's ship in 1759 (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/75, p. 440).
2. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/67, p. 549.
3. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/72, p. 518.
4. I.O.L., Mar. Rec. Cat., pp. 37, 39, 42.
5. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/75, p. 183.
6. Captain John Hallett, Hall's brother-in-law, was owner charter-party for Lascelles's ship in 1759 and 1762 (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/75, p. 440; Hardy (1), p. 35).
7. Curtis, op. cit., p. 368, n. 4. James and he were both close friends of the writer, Laurence Sterne, who knew him as 'Bombay Lascelles', and considered him a 'poor sorry soul', evidently from his lack of sensibility (ibid., p. 364).
8. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/258, pp. 55, 214.
9. Fortescue, vol. 2, pp. 497-498: Lord North to the King, [8 June 1773].
10. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 9.
11. Note of Lascelles's death does not appear in Musgrave, but his will was proved on 11 May 1776.

LAW, Stephen (1699-1787)

of Broxbourne, Hertfordshire.

Director of the East India Company 1746-49, 1751-54, 1756.

b., 26 Decr. 1699, poss. s. of Stephen Law, and nephew of Samuel Pugh, merchant and dryer, of London; m., by 1735, Martha ____; surv.children: 2s. and 1 da., Stephana, who m. John Cartier, governor of Bengal, 1769-72. 1

Governor of Bombay 1739-42.

Born to a family of mercantile background in London, Law entered the Company accountant's office in 1714 to qualify himself for a writership, through the recommendation of the director, William Gosselin, himself a member of a well-to-do London family of Huguenot origin.² He achieved this in the following year,³ and proceeded to Bombay, where he had risen to the rank of factor by 1720.⁴ He spent a number of years in the Company settlement at Tellicherry, rising to the chiefship in January 1733,⁵ through the assiduous efforts of his uncle on his behalf in London.⁶ As a Company servant of over twenty years experience in the west of India, he was given the governorship of Bombay in 1739, where he was expected to infuse the administration with a spirit of greater activity, and to improve the settlement's defences against Maratha attacks. However, he was recalled in 1742, having roused opposition in Bombay by his vigorous measures, and having given the directors cause for alarm by the extent of his expenditure.⁷

While in charge at Tellicherry and Bombay, Law furthered the careers of a number of Company servants, some of them later to become directors, such as Sullivan and Dudley (qq.v.). Returning to England 'under a slight cloud',⁸ he maintained extensive connections with Bombay through the handling of

remittances, and aiding the promotion of former colleagues, and members of their families.⁹ He entered the Direction in 1746, and rose to prominence during the following decade as the Company's territorial responsibilities in India expanded, and the need for men of Indian experience in the Direction was recognised. He became the leader of a small, but growing, coterie of returned Company servants, known in the late 'fifties as the 'Bombay faction', through the predominance of Law's former colleagues and connections. The most important member of the group, Laurence Sullivan, seems to have entered the Direction in 1755 with Law's help.¹⁰

Even after standing down from the Directorate, Law continued to carry considerable weight in the General Court, where he supported Sullivan during the wrangling over the succession to the Bengal government, which culminated in the election contest of 1758, and, as 'General' of Sullivan's forces, was 'most active behind the curtain'.¹¹ Like Sullivan, he seems to have had connections in Bengal to serve,¹² and objected to the choice of Holwell as governor. Holwell wrote to a well-disposed director:

... if Mr. Drake [q.v.] declines the Direction & Mr. Law comes in again, I shall be in a very droll situation ... for what have We not to fear from so Malignant Powerfull, & inveterate a conjunction as Messrs. Law Sullivan & Godfrey [qq.v.] 13

Law continued to attend meetings of the General Court in subsequent years, and to sit on various committees of proprietors,¹⁴ but played a less prominent part in the politics of East India House. He remained on close terms with Sullivan, whose 'jackal', Thomas Lane, stood surety for Law's son, a Bengal writer, in 1762.¹⁵ Sullivan retained a high opinion

of Law's abilities, and, in 1774, regarded him as one of the few men, apart from Hastings, who might be entrusted with far-reaching, and independent, powers as governor-general.¹⁶

He died on 25 December 1787, at Bedgebury House, Kent, the home of his son-in-law, John Cartier.¹⁷

1. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1161, f. 26 (1788): Will of Stephen Law; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/687, f. 44 (1738): Will of Samuel Pugh; I.O.L., European Inhabitants: Bombay, 1718-92, O/5/31, pt. 1, p. 34; I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/55, p. 490. Law should not be confused with Stephen Law, also born about 1699, son of William Law, gentleman of Oxford, and who graduated B.A. from Queen's College, Oxford, in 1720 (Al. Ox., later series, L-R, p. 823).
2. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/53, p. 193. Law's uncle, Samuel Pugh, was noted as a dryer (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/55, p. 490). After his return from Bombay, Law retained associations with members of the cloth trade, standing surety for Charles Whitehill, in 1744, with John Leeke, haberdasher (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/68, p. 15), and for William Henry Draper, a supercargo, with Brice Fisher, the Blackwell Hall factor (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/67, p. 502).
3. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/53, p. 273.
4. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/55, p. 490.
5. Records of Fort St. George. Letters from Tellicherry, 1732-1733, vol. 2 (Madras, 1934), p. 23.
6. I.O.L., Ct. Bks., B/59, p. 439; B/61, p. 240.
7. Sutherland (1), p. 61.
8. Sutherland (1), p. 61.
9. I.O.L., Ct. Bks., B/68, pp. 15, 100; B/70, pp. 22-23.
10. Sutherland (1), pp. 64-65.
11. Malcolm, vol. 2, p. 113; Sutherland (1), p. 68; Holwell, p. 156.
12. Charles Manningham, a Bengal councillor and connection of Sullivan, had been a Company servant in Bombay until 1743, and was now a candidate for the Bengal government.
13. I.O.L., Orme MSS., O.V. 21, p. 18: Zephaniah Holwell to John Payne, c. 17 March 1759.
14. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/256, pp. 270, 286, 338.
15. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/78, p. 434.
16. B.L., Add. MSS., 29135, f. 401^v: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 20 Decr. 1774.
17. G.M., vol. 57, pt. 2 (1787), p. 1130.

LE MESURIER, Paul (1755-1805)

of Upper Homeston, nr. Hackney, Middlesex.

Director of the East India Company 1784-87, 1789-92, 1794-97,
1799-1802, 1804-d. 1805.

b., 23 Feby. 1755, 3rd. s. of John Le Mesurier,
hereditary governor of Alderney, by Martha, da. and
coh. of Peter Dobreë, of Guernsey; m., 1776, Marg-
aret, da. of Isaac Robertson, of Spitalfields;
ls. 3da..

M.P. for Southwark 25 June 1784-96.

Lord Mayor of London 1793-94.¹

Le Mesurier made his fortune in partnership with his
uncle, Noah Le Cras, as prize agents during the American War.²
On his election to the Company Direction in 1784, he was said
to be 'devoted' to Sullivan,³ their connection probably deriving
from their common shipping interests. Le Mesurier appears
in the Company records as a shipowner,⁴ and as advocate of a
scheme to establish a regular mail service between Britain and
India in 1783,⁵ while his brother, Frederick,⁶ commanded the
Ponsborne Indiaman, the husband for which was Sullivan's hench-
man, Thomas Lane.⁷

Le Mesurier was brought forward as a candidate by Sullivan
and his allies in the Pitt camp for the 1784 election, follow-
ing the defeat of Fox's India Bill, and the collapse of the
Fox-North Coalition.⁸ Similarly, he stood against a follower
of Fox in the Parliamentary election for Southwark, and was
elected after an expensive contest.⁹ As a director he continued
to co-operate with Sullivan, promising his support in October
for a motion that Hastings should be encouraged to remain in
Bengal until an acceptable replacement could be found.¹⁰ He
spoke in defence of Hastings in Parliament on several occasions,
on the grounds that he had 'proved himself a meritorious

servant of the company'.¹¹ Le Mesurier remained a steady supporter of Pitt, and did not oppose Dundas in the matter of the King's regiments in 1788.¹²

Richard Atkinson (q.v.) had a poor opinion of Le Mesurier, despite his allegiance to Pitt. He told Dundas:

Mr. Lemesurier ... Conceited and uninformed.
Troublesome in the Court during the Short time he
has been in it, and of no consequence whatever
beyond his being a Member of Parliament. 13

He died on 9 December 1805, at his house in Upper Homeston, Middlesex.¹⁴

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1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 33.
 2. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 33.
 3. Furber (1), p. 485: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 22 July 1784.
 4. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/98, p. 726.
 5. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/99, p. 189.
 6. G.M., vol. 76 (1806), p. 86.
 7. Hardy (1), p. 97. The Ponsborne was named after Sullivan's country estate, and had always been managed by one of his shipping connections.
 8. Philips (1), p. 29.
 9. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, pp. 33-34.
 10. B.L., Add. MSS., 29166, f. 298^v: John Scott to Warren Hastings, 15 Octr. 1784.
 11. Quoted in Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 34.
 12. Auber, p. 440.
 13. Furber (1), p. 484: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 22 July 1784.
 14. G.M., vol. 75, pt. 2 (1805), p. 1178.
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LINWOOD, Nicholas (? -1773)

of Itchel, Hampshire.

Director of the East India Company 1749-52, 1754.

m. Jane (?Streatfield), named in his will; no children mentioned.

M.P. for Stockbridge 1761-68; Aldeburgh 1768-2 May 1773.¹

Director of the South Sea Company 1758-64.

Director of the Sun Fire Office 1760-d. 1773.

Linwood, a London merchant, had associations with the business circle of William Braund, ship-owner, and Company director before 1754.² He was named with Braund's brother, Samuel, as owner charter-parties for the Edgecote Indiaman in 1747.³ In the City he had close connections with Brice Fisher, the Blackwell Hall factor, and director of the Sun Fire Office, and with the society of cloth merchants to which Fisher belonged. Linwood, a regular member of the Buying Committee, was, in 1754, drawn into the controversy over the poor quality cloth with which Fisher had allegedly been supplying the Company. Linwood was active in his defence, and, with other directors, like Chauncy, Fonnereau, Wilberforce and Willy (qq.v.), did not stand again for the Direction.⁴

He later made considerable profits from Government contracts, and, in 1767, was said to have retired from business, and to be living 'in a very genteel manner'.⁵ He remained a proprietor until his death, but declined an appointment to a General Court committee in December 1772, set up to enquire into the Company's finances.⁶

He died on 2 May 1773.⁷

1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 44.
 2. Sutherland (2), p. 117.
 3. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/69, p. 370.
 4. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 44.
 5. Quoted in Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 44.
 6. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/258, pp. 130-131.
 7. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 44.
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LUSHINGTON, Sir Stephen (1744-1807)

of Southill Park, Bedfordshire.

Director of the East India Company 1782-85, 1787-89*-90**,
1792-95**, 1797-98*-99**-
1800, 1802-05.

b., 17 June 1744, 3rd. s. of Rev. Henry Lushington,
Vicar of Eastbourne, Sussex, by his 1st. w., Mary,
da. of Rev. Roger Altham, Archdeacon of Middlesex;
m., 6 June 1771, Hester, da. of John Boldero, of
Darrington, Yorkshire; 3s. 6da.; cr. Bt., 26
April 1791.

M.P. for Hedon 15 Decr. 1783-84; Helston 23 Decr. 1790-96;
Mitchell 1796-1802; Penryn 1802-06; Plympton Erle 1806-
12 Jany. 1807. 1

Lushington belonged to a family of extensive East Indian connection,² and, like two of his brothers,³ was said to have been sent to India 'to push his fortune', remaining there 'for many years, in several high and confidential situations'.⁴

There is, however, no record of his having been a Company servant.

He was drawn into Company politics during the late 1760's in support of his brother-in-law, Ralph Leycester, a Company servant who had recently returned from Bengal, and who was a close associate of John Johnstone.⁵ Lushington spoke in support of the claims of Leycester and Johnstone for payment of

restitution promised by the Nawab in 1763 for losses incurred by Company servants during the preceding hostilities in Bengal.⁶ Having the interests of his brother, William, in Bengal, and the Indian concerns of Leycester, to represent, Lushington stood for the Direction in April 1773, on the 'Proprietors' list', but was defeated. Chairman of the 'Committee of Independent Proprietors' which had drawn up the 'list' was John Boldero, City banker, and Lushington's father-in-law.⁷ In the following year, Lushington acted with Lord Richmond (whose financial affairs were handled by Boldero)⁸ and the Johnstones in trying to block the Indian appointments laid down by the Regulating Act.⁹ The opposition to Government was carried over to the Company election, when Lushington stood against the Ministry, but was again defeated.¹⁰

By the date of his entry to the House of Commons, Lushington's political allegiances were to the Rockingham party, notably the Duke of Richmond, and to the director, Henry Fletcher (q.v.), whose patron, the Duke of Portland, helped bring Lushington into Parliament.¹¹ Though his Bengal connections disposed him in favour of Hastings, who he felt should be exonerated from all blame for the Maratha War,¹² and under whose government he later felt Bengal had been 'in a progressive state of improvement',¹³ he was prepared to support Fox in the Direction. He was named as an assistant commissioner, but refused the office in the face of hostility within the Company to the India Bill.¹⁴ Following the establishment of the new Administration in December 1783, Lushington, an opponent of Pitt, began to co-operate with Sullivan, supporting him in the Company election of 1784, though the two had never

been on good terms.¹⁵

He went on to oppose the Ministry in 1787 and 1788 over the matter of the King's regiments, and spoke out publicly against the scheme.¹⁶ He took Government managers by surprise in April 1789, by securing the deputy chairmanship for himself, in spite of Dundas's known partiality for Hunter (q.v.).¹⁷ Though promising to 'support Administration as far as any good Man could wish',¹⁸ and despite accepting at the committee stage, David Scott's (q.v.) plans later that year to reduce the Company's debts, he opposed the measures when they came before the Direction.¹⁹

He died on 12 January 1807.²⁰

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1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 63.
 2. C.f. Appendix 2.
 3. Henry Lushington and William Lushington, Company servants in Bengal during the 1760's, the former of whom was killed in the fighting with Mir Quasim.
 4. 1806 Index to the House of Commons, p. 355.
 5. For the career of John Johnstone, c.f. George Johnstone (q.v.).
 6. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/257, pp. 202-204, 293-295.
 7. P.A., 6 April 1773.
 8. Olson, p. 165, n. 2.
 9. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/259, pp. 49, 51.
 10. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 17.
 11. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 63.
 12. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/260, p. 270.
 13. 1806 Index ..., op. cit., p. 356.
 14. Philips (1), p. 24. Lushington is also said to have declined Fox's offer when the Bill was amended to render the office incompatible with a seat in the House (Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 63).
 15. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. hist., bl90, f. 33^v: Laurence Sullivan to ?, 10 Novr. 1784.
 16. G.M., vol. 58, pt. 1 (1788), p. 169.

17. S.R.O., MS. GD/51/3/15, ff. 39-40: David Scott to Henry Dundas, 9 April 1789.
 18. S.R.O., MS. GD/51/3/15, f. 39^v: David Scott to Henry Dundas, 9 April 1789.
 19. S.R.O., MS. GD/51/3/18, ff. 45^v-46: David Scott to Henry Dundas, 4 Sept. 1789.
 20. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 63.
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MABBOTT, William (c.1692-1764)

of Tadworth Court, Surrey.

Director of the East India Company 1741-44, 1746-49, 1751-54, 1756.

b., c. 1692, related to the Mabbotts of Cassington, Oxfordshire and of Bath; m. (1) Martha ____; (2) Rhoda, da. of Sir John Hubard, 2nd. Bt., and wid. of (1) Sir Thomas Delves, 4th. Bt.; (2) J. Coates, of Dodington, Cheshire; d.s.p..

M.P. for Hindon 19 Jany. 1756-61.¹

Mabbott commanded the Caesar Indiaman on four voyages to the East between 1720 and 1732.² He retained interests in the ownership of Company shipping until his death,³ and was on close terms with the influential husband, and director, Robert Hudson.⁴ Though never holding a chair, Mabbott was regarded as a director of importance, and sat continuously on the Committee of Shipping during his years in the Direction. He was an early patron of Robert Clive, who was on terms of confidence with him, informing him in 1757 of his private ambitions towards the governorship-general, if such an office should be created.⁵

After leaving the Direction, Mabbott continued to support Clive at East India House, and joined other followers in calling for a General Court in March 1763 to exonerate Clive's

ally, Thomas Rous (q.v.), from any responsibility for the mismanagement of negotiations with the Government over the proposed peace treaty with France.⁶ He played an important part in the 'splitting' activities of Clive's party before the elections of 1763 and 1764, in the latter case creating nine votes from his own holdings.⁷

Mabbott's wealth allowed him to apply for a generous share in the Treasury loan of 1757, when he was described as 'a very rich man'. He died on 14 November 1764.⁸

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1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 77.
 2. I.O.L., Mar. Rec. Cat., pp. 18, 20-21, 23.
 3. Mabbott's will refers to his shares in East India shipping (P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/904, f. 474 (1764): Will of William Mabbott).
 4. For Hudson, c.f. George Dudley (q.v.). Mabbott and Hudson were linked in shipping ventures (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/65, p. 219), and Tadworth Court was taken over by the Hudson family in 1776 (Frances E. Leaning, Tadworth Court, Surrey (Redhill, 1928), pp. 56, 61).
 5. Forrest, vol. 1, p. 363: Robert Clive to his father, 9 Feby. 1757.
 6. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/256, p. 278.
 7. N.L.W., MS. 83, p. 17; MS. 85, p. 12.
 8. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 78.
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MANSHIP, John (c.1725-1816)

of Lamb's Conduit Street, London.

Director of the East India Company 1755-58, 1762-65, 1767,
1769-72, Novr. 1773-77,
1779-82, 1784-87, 1789-92,
1794-97, 1799-1802, 1804-
07, April-May 1809.

b., c. 1725, s. of John Manship. cloth merchant, of
London; m. ?; lda., who m. Simon Ewart, Company
servant in Bengal. 1

On his father's death in 1749, Manship took over the family business under the title of Manship and Wilkinson.² He dealt principally in cloth imported from the East by the Company,³ but also had shares in Company shipping with other clothiers and ship-owners in the Braund circle.⁴

He was 'double-listed' in the contested elections of 1763 and 1764,⁵ but seems to have been well-disposed to the Clive party. He opposed the Bengal appointment of John Spencer,⁶ and was elected in 1765 on the 'House list' with Clive's supporters.⁷ With other directors, in 1767, he was against Sullivan's proposed terms of agreement with the Ministry, which included provision for a high dividend.⁸ He did not accept the figures justifying such a rise, and, when speculators in the General Court achieved this end, declared that 'he must still think it inexpedient to agree to an Increase of Dividend, it being upon Supposition'.⁹

He was dropped from the 'House list' in the following year on the grounds, it was said, that he was assisting a candidate for the Direction of whom the other directors disapproved.¹⁰ The candidate in question may have been Sullivan, as Manship went on to contest the election with him in the 'Proprietors' list', and, though defeated,¹¹ was returned in 1769 with

Sullivan, and a number of his followers.¹² Manship was involved in the 'splitting' activities of the group, particularly in the borrowing of stock from John Boyd (q.v.). However, by late 1770, Sullivan was writing that Manship had quitted the coalition, and was an 'enemy', and that Manship's financial obligations to creditors of the group were being assumed by Vansittart and himself.¹³

When the question of the continuance of the Company dividend at its existing level arose in late 1771, Manship was alone in forecasting the disastrous results of such a policy, insisting 'that a general state of the Comp^ys affairs sh^d. be made out (which was over-rul'd as without precedent at this period) and declaring that he had form'd an account proving that by the load of Bills of Exchange ... the whole money must be borrow'd to pay ... [the] dividend'.¹⁴ As a result of his stance at this time, and in 1767, Manship enjoyed a reputation for independence of conduct, and concern for the real welfare of the Company. However, Colebrooke (q.v.), accused of encouraging a high dividend to facilitate his speculations, wrote later:

Mr. Manship, who was called the honest director from his opposition to the continuance of a dividend, was a gambler for the fall; of this I had such certain proofs that he was under the necessity of acknowledging it to me in a private conversation. He conjured me to keep the secret, which I did, and in return he promised me his support. 15

Though receiving Lord North's support for his election in November 1773,¹⁶ Manship was a candidate on the anti-Ministerial 'list' in the following April.¹⁷ His standpoint at any one time was difficult to determine, even for contemporaries. Richard Atkinson wrote that Manship was not 'trusted for a

Moment by any side, nor knowing his own mind an hour together unless steadied by some Job - Then very steady'.¹⁸

He acted with Sullivan in the election of 1780,¹⁹ and, in May, was referred to be Sullivan as his 'particular friend'.²⁰ Manship had voted against Hastings's recall in 1776,²¹ and was on good terms with Mary, sister of Richard Barwell.²² Concern also for his son-in-law in Bengal ensured Manship's continued co-operation with the Hastings party, and he dissented from a motion in favour of dismissal in October 1782.²³ He was elected in April 1784 as a member of the victorious 'Proprietors' list'.²⁴

Manship retained his independence during the Dundas régime. He voted against the Ministry's plan for the despatch of the King's regiments to India,²⁵ and particularly irritated Dundas by refusing to acquiesce in his choice of General Medows for the Madras government. He was consequently excluded from a chair to which he was entitled by seniority,²⁶ as had happened, to his great annoyance, on earlier occasions.²⁷

He died at his house in Lamb's Conduit Street on 26 November 1816,²⁸ after forty three years as a director.

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1. G.M., vol. 86, pt. 2 (1816), p. 568; De Neufville MSS.: John Manship to Jan Isaac de Neufville, 20 Feby. 1750; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1598, f. 388 (1817): Will of John Manship.
 2. De Neufville MSS.: John Manship to Jan Isaac de Neufville, 20 Feby. 1750.
 3. I.O.L., Ct. Bks., B/78, p. 237; B/75, p. 136.
 4. Sutherland (2), p. 117.
 5. G.M., vol. 33 (1763), p. 199; L.M., vol. 33 (1764), p. 215.

6. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/79, p. 302.
 7. G.M., vol. 35 (1765), p. 145.
 8. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/257, p. 43.
 9. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/257, p. 108.
 10. P.A., 11 and 12 April 1768.
 11. L.M., vol. 37 (1768), p. 226.
 12. L.M., vol. 38 (1769), p. 218.
 13. Hist. MSS. Comm. Palk, p. 127: Laurence Sulivavn to Robert Palk, c. May-Sept. 1770.
 14. B.L., Add. MSS., 29133, f. 533^v: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 28 April 1773.
 15. Colebrooke, pt. 2, p. 17, n. 1.
 16. Forrest, vol. 2, p. 381: Lord North to Robert Clive, 9 Novr. [1773]. The letter is dated incorrectly to 1771 by Forrest.
 17. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 17.
 18. Furber (1), p. 486: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 22 July 1784.
 19. Sutherland (1), pp. 348-349.
 20. B.L., Add. MSS., 29145, f. 71: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 3 May 1780.
 21. Gleig, vol. 2, p. 65: Lauchlin Maclean to Warren Hastings, 25 June 1776.
 22. Barwell Letter-Book, B.P.P., vol. 12 (1916), p. 85: Richard Barwell to John Manship, 30 Novr. 1774.
 23. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/98, p. 543.
 24. Lewis, vol. 25, p. 490, n. 29.
 25. Auber, p. 441.
 26. Philips (1), p. 61.
 27. Manship had aspired to the deputy chair in 1775 and in 1776, and, at his exclusion, had entered written protests (I.O.L., Ct. Bks., B/91, pp. 18-19; B/92, pp. 24-25).
 28. G.M., vol. 86, pt. 2 (1816), p. 568.
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METCALFE, Sir Thomas Theophilus (1745-1813)

of Portland Place, London and of Fern Hill, Buckinghamshire.

Director of the East India Company 1789-92, 1794-97, 1799-1802, 1804-07, 1809-12.

b., 8 Jany. 1745, s. of Thomas Metcalfe, army officer, by Margaret, da. of Rev. John Williams; m., 18 April 1782, in Fort William, Bengal, Susanna Sophia Selina, da. of John Debonnaire, Madras merchant, and wid. pf John Smith, of the Bengal military establishment; 4s. 2da.; cr. Bt., 21 Decr. 1802. 1

M.P. for Abingdon 1796-1807.

Metcalfe went out to Bengal as a cadet in the Company's military service in 1767, where he remained until about 1779, having attained the rank of captain.² After a short period in England, he returned to Bengal, now as a major, with the post of military storekeeper, 'a situation in those days the most lucrative in the Company's service, which he attained by most perseveringly courting the heads of Government'.³ He made his fortune in this post, but, as a result of other more dubious financial activities, was obliged to leave India in 1785, when word arrived of the recently established Board of Control, which was expected to have wide inquisitorial powers.⁴

It seems likely that Metcalfe entered the Company Direction with the support of Dundas and the Ministry. Though his 'natural Connexions' were said to be among the 'East Indians', his 'first friends' were at Court,⁵ where he enjoyed some influence. He remained a firm supporter of Dundas at East India House,⁶ and of Pitt, when elected to Parliament in 1806.⁷ Three of Metcalfe's sons entered the Company service, the most famous being Charles, governor-general of India from 1835 to 1836.

Metcalfé died on 17 November 1813, in Portland Place.⁸

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1. B.P.B., p. 1798; Hodson, pt. 3, pp. 284-285.
 2. Hodson, pt. 3, pp. 284-285.
 3. Alfred Spencer (ed.), Mem6irs of William Hickey (London, 9th. ed., n.d.), vol. 3, pp. 164-165.
 4. Furber (2), p. 233.
 5. S.R.O., MS. GD/51/3/15, f. 40: David Scott to Henry Dundas, 9 April 1789.
 6. S.R.O., MS. GD/51/4/141 (no foliation): Thomas T. Metcalfe to Henry Dundas, 31 March 1793.
 7. Sir John W. Kaye, Life and Correspondence of Charles Lord Metcalfe ... (London, 1854), vol. 1, p. 4.
 8. G.M., vol. 83, pt. 2 (1813), p. 510.
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MICHIE, John (? -1788)

of Craven Street, London and of North Mimms, Hertfordshire.
 Director of the East India Company 1770-75, 1777-80, 1783-86**, April-Novr. 1788*.
 b., prob. after 1731, s. of Alexander Michie of Buchan, Strathdon, Aberdeenshire, by Mary, da. of James Coutts of Rifantrach, Glenmuick; unm.. 1
 Sheriff of Hertfordshire 1782.²

Michie had been a navy agent and secretary to Sir George Pocock, commander of the British fleet in the East in 1757, and subsequently in the West Indies at the fall of Havanna.³
 He later entered business in London with his brother, Jonathan, a wine merchant of Craven Street,⁴ but continued his agency work for the navy. As late as 1769 he was accounting for his handling of spoils taken after the fall of Chadermagore in 1757.⁵

His early dealings in East India stock point to a connection with Sullivan, but by the early 1770's his transactions

involved allies of the North Ministry.⁶ As a director he was generally held to be a follower of Administration,⁷ and he certainly had close ties with the Admiralty, where Pocock continued to act as his patron.⁸ He was particularly concerned with the career of his nephew, Jonathan Duncan (governor of Bombay, 1794-1811) whose interests he tried to promote with Warren Hastings,⁹ and with the prospects of other Scottish protégés in India. Duncan wrote to him in 1784:

Of a Sunday he [Ogilvie], Lumsden, Elliot, Burnet & Forbes are generally with me in the Country, as we in some Measure consider ourselves as a family Connection, of which you are of course looked upon as the head, & revered as the Benefactor, who has been the making of all of us. 10

Obsessed by the need for economies in his private affairs, following 'great losses by the American War',¹¹ Michie held Hastings in high esteem for his reductions in the expenses of government.¹² He was regarded in some circles as an 'independent member',¹³ but Richard Atkinson (q.v.) wrote in 1785:

Mr. Michie - Against Sullivan, and otherwise perfectly well-disposed to Baring (q.v.) and me. 14

Though he had been named as one of Fox's assistant commissioners, Michie's allegiances were increasingly to the Pitt Ministry, and particularly to George Rose, Robinson's successor as secretary to the Treasury, to whom Michie was in debt for assistance in finding an appointment in the Aberdeen customs service for a relative.¹⁵ Michie, whose turn it was to be chairman in April 1786, was thus caused considerable embarrassment by Duncan's membership of a committee set up in Bengal to oppose Pitt's India legislation, as he was held

to be acting on Michie's advice. Michie told him:

... as M^r Fox was pleased to put me into his Bill, by which means I am to this hour looked upon by some, to be a Foxite: these incidents [in Bengal] will heighten their suspicion however all the Harm they can do me, having no right to expect any real favour at their Hands is to keep me out of the Direction in April 1788 (if I live so long) and indeed that is hardly worth the contending for, as I am affraid bad as the present situation of a Director is, it will soon be worse 16

Despite his apparent disillusionment, Michie continued in the Direction, solely, as he claimed, with a view to serving Duncan.¹⁷

In his later years he preferred to 'live very private in the Country', complaining of financial hardship,¹⁸ but was felt by Atkinson to possess a 'good moderate fortune'.¹⁹ He died on 22 November 1788.²⁰

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1. The Michie Family of Aberdeenshire (Anon., priv. print., n.d.), p. 49; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1173, f. 607 (1788): Will of John Michie.
 2. G.M., vol. 52 (1782), p. 91. Michie's papers as sheriff are lodged with Hertfordshire Record Office.
 3. Guildhall, MS. 6525; Furber (1), p. 492: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 31 Jany. 1785.
 4. Kent's Directory ... (London, 1777), p. 245; Kent's Directory ... (London, 1782), p. 116.
 5. Guidhall, MS. 6525.
 6. Michie bought stock from Sullivan's associates, Samuel Hough and John Boldero, in 1764 (I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/15, p. 582); he had dealings with William Devaynes (q.v.), and with Clive himself, in the early 1770's (I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/19, pp. 581, 584).
 7. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. hist., c269, p. 27: Laurence Sullivan to Stephen Sullivan, [1778].
 8. Sandwich MSS., F40/38: ? to Sandwich, 12 June 1788.
 9. B.L., Add. MSS., 29142, ff. 235-235^v: John Michie to Warren Hastings, 24 Decr. 1778.
 10. Guildhall, MS. 5881, file 2 (no foliation): Jonathan Duncan to John Michie, 22 Feby. 1784.

11. Guildhall, MS. 5881, file 2: John Michie to Jonathan Duncan, 18 Jany. 1786.
 12. Guildhall, MS. 5881, file 2: John Michie to Jonathan Duncan, 29 March 1785.
 13. Guildhall, MS. 5881, file 2: Jonathan Duncan to John Michie, 23 Octr. 1783.
 14. Furber (1), p. 492: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 31 Jany. 1785.
 15. Guildhall, MS., 5881, file 2: John Michie to Jonathan Duncan, 18 Jany. 1786.
 16. Guildhall, MS. 5881, file 2: John Michie to Jonathan Duncan, 18 Jany. 1786.
 17. Guildhall, MS. 5881, file 2: John Michie to Jonathan Duncan, 18 Jany. 1786.
 18. Guildhall, MS. 5881, file 2: John Michie to Jonathan Duncan, 18 Jany. 1786.
 19. Furber (1), p. 492: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 31 Jany. 1785.
 20. The Michie Family ..., op. cit., p. 50.
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MILLS, Charles (1755-1826)

of Lombard Street, London and of Barford, Warwickshire.

Director of the East India Company Augt. 1785-86, 1788-91,
1793-96, 1798-1801***,
1803-06, 1808-11, 1813-
March 1815.

b., 13 July 1755, 2nd. s. of Rev. John Mills, Rector
of Barford, Warwickshire, by Sarah, da. of Rev.
William Wheler, Vicar of Leamington Hastings, and
bro. of William Mills (q.v.); m. Jane, ygst. da.
of Hon. Wriothesley Digby; d.s.p. 1

M.P. for Warwick Borough 1802-26.

At the age of twenty one Mills was brought into the
banking firm of Glyn, Hallifax and Mills, by his uncle, William
Mills, who had reputedly saved the firm by a loan in the fin-
ancial crisis of 1772, and had, as a consequence, been accepted
as a partner.² The Mills family, through its East Indian con-
tacts, provided business for the banking firm. Mills, an
influential City banker by 1785, succeeded his brother in the
Direction, and was himself followed by his nephew, Sir Charles
Mills, Company director from 1822, and banking partner from
1821.³

Mills was elected to the Direction with Dundas's acquiesc-
ence, and generally acted, in this period, in concert with the
Ministry's City leaders in the Company, Baring and Devaynes
(qq.v.).⁴ He was, however, in no respect a Government lackey,
and maintained a keen sense of the Company's rights. He
signed a protest in August 1786 against recent policy decisions
of the Company's secret committee which had been taken without
consultation with the rest of the Direction.⁵ Later, as a
Member of Parliament, he voted regularly with Opposition, and,
in 1805, was in favour of Dundas's (Lord Melville's) impeach-
ment.⁶

He died on 29 January 1826, in Manchester Square,
London.⁷

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1. B.L.G., vol. 2, pp. 436-437.
 2. Fulford, pp. 33, 75.
 3. The family's Eastern interests were continued by Sir Charles Mills's son, Charles Henry, banking partner from 1852, and chairman of the London Committee of the Imperial Ottoman Bank. He was raised to the peerage as Lord Hillingdon in 1886 (E.G. B. [-rown], Glyn Mills & Co. (priv. print., n.d.), p. 39).
 4. Philips (1), pp. 53, 62 and n. 1.
 5. S.R.O., MS. GD/51/3/54b¹, f. 211: John Motteux to Henry Dundas, 23 Augt. 1786.
 6. G.M., vol. 96, pt. 1 (1826), p. 366.
 7. G.M., vol. 96, pt. 1 (1826), p. 366.
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MILLS, William (1750-1820)

of Bisterne, near Southampton.

Director of the East India Company 1778-81, 1783-Augt. 1785.

b., 10 Novr. 1750, eld. s. of Rev. John Mills, Rector of Barford, Warwickshire, and bro. of Charles Mills (q.v.); m., 7 April 1786, Elizabeth, 3rd. da. of Hon. Wriothesley Digby, and sis. of his brother's wife; 6s. 3da.. 1

M.P. for St. Ives 1790-96; Coventry 1805-12.

Mills, a City merchant and war contractor, was patronised by his uncle, William Mills, senior, a wealthy banker and influential East India proprietor.² He replaced his relative and business associate, Edward Wheler (q.v.), in a partnership which included the Ministerial directors, Devaynes and Wombwell (qq.v.), and which enjoyed Government contracts to supply troops in America, in 1776, and 1780.³ It was therefore as a Government supporter that Mills entered the Direction in 1778.

His diligent pursuit of the interests of Wheler, who had been appointed to the Bengal supreme council, led to confrontation with the Hastings party at East India House. Wheler, though ostensibly amenable to Hastings's policies, was thought to be fostering support for Philip Francis in England through Mills. John Scott reported to Hastings:

I much fear my Dear Sir that M^r. W ____ is Playing a Double Game with you - his Friend and Partner in England M^r Milles is the avowed Friend of Francis and certainly takes as Active a Part as he Possibly can Against You ... [he] said our Affairs were in a Desperate state indeed and he Differ'd very much from M^r Sullivan - that our Receipts would be as far short of Estimate as our Expences would exceed it ... 4

Mills's hostility was also carried against Hastings's allies. He dissented from a motion allowing Richard Barwell bills on the Company, on the grounds that Francis and Wheler were opposed to the idea,⁵ and also objected to the delayed despatch of orders removing Sir Elijah Impey from his office as judge of the Bengal native court.⁶ When Francis returned to England, and resumed his campaign against Hastings, Mills supplied him with inside information relative to developments in the Court of Directors,⁷ while defending the conduct of Wheler.⁸

He was re-elected in April 1783, the only candidate of the six not in the Hastings party.⁹ Atkinson (q.v.) wrote of him:

Irreconcilably adverse to Sullivan. - Ill-disposed towards Devaynes [q.v.], and steady with Baring [q.v.] and me unless it were in support of Sullivan. - A young Man of fortune and good character & parts if he would apply, but susceptible of strong prejudices and wrong-headed in anything that affects them. 10

He resigned in August 1785, and was replaced in the Direction by his brother, Charles. He died on 20 March 1820.¹¹

1. B.L.G., vol. 2, pp. 436-437.
 2. Fulford, pp. 32-33. Though Mills was not admitted to the bank, his sons, Charles and Edward Wheler Mills, were taken in as partners in later years.
 3. Baker, pp. 29, n. 32; pp. 35, 51.
 4. B.L., Add. MSS., 29153, ff. 177^v-178: John Scott to Warren Hastings, 16 Feby. 1782.
 5. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/96, p. 287.
 6. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/97, p. 565.
 7. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., D18, f. 47^v: Philip Francis to Edward Wheler, 18 Jany. 1782.
 8. B.L., Add. MSS., 29147, ff. 242-242^v: Samuel Pechell to Warren Hastings, 29 Jany. 1781: 'M^r. Milles who is Wheelers supporter has taken immense pains, which have brought forth two pamphlets ...'.
 9. B.L., Add. MSS., 29158, f. 474^v: John Scott to Warren Hastings, 28 March 1783.
 10. Furber (1), p. 486: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 22 July 1784.
 11. B.L.G., vol. 2, pp. 436-437.
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MOFFATT, James (?1733-1790)

of Charlton, Kent.

Director of the East India Company 1774-77, 1779-82, Decr.
1784-April 1785, 1787-d. 1790.

b., ?1733, in London, bro. of Andrew Moffatt, ship's husband, and bro.-in-law of Charles Bruce, 5th. Earl of Elgin; m. Elizabeth Bowland. 1

Director of the Sun Fire Office 1788-90.

Moffatt, a Company marine commander, made three voyages to the East between 1760 and 1769.² His family, though London-based, had a number of influential Scottish connections.³ He and his brother had been educated by James Oswald, Lord of the Treasury from 1759 to 1763, whose influence was used with Lord Bute with a view to securing profitable Company voyages for Moffatt.⁴ Andrew Moffatt, insurance broker and ship-owner,

had close ties with Charles Raymond during the 1760's,⁵ and with members of Sullivan's shipping circle, such as Samuel Hough.⁶ During the contest for control of the Company in the years, 1763 to 1764, the Moffatts clearly constituted an important element in the section of the shipping interest on which Sullivan relied so heavily,⁷ and were tied through marriage and common business interests to other of Sullivan's adherents, like William George Freeman (q.v.) and Captain Charles Foulis.⁸

Moffatt became an East India proprietor in October 1768,⁹ and henceforth began to participate in General Court affairs, particularly in matters involving his family's shipping concerns, as in March 1772, when the Government threatened to limit the size and number of Company ships, so as to conserve timber supplies.¹⁰ Moffatt is noted in these years as husband for a number of Indiamen, which were taken over by his brother, Andrew, on his entering the Direction.¹¹

He stood for the Directorate in April 1774, and, having connections in both the Ministerial and the opposition camps, was 'double-listed'.¹² However, his associations with Charles Raymond, whose friend he was said to be,¹³ and who was currently supporting the Ministerial 'House list', and Moffatt's obligations to his patron, Lord Mansfield,¹⁴ meant that, on his election, he was counted as a gain for Administration.¹⁵ When the matter of Hastings's recall came before the directors in May 1776, Moffatt, who seems to have felt some ambivalence in his position, did not attend.¹⁶ However, once the General Court had rescinded the directors' decision to remove Hastings, Moffatt 'distinguished' himself in defence of the

governor-general.¹⁷ As a recognised supporter of Government, his action caused some surprise,¹⁸ but his attitude can be understood in the light of the standpoint of Mansfield, one of Hastings's most powerful advocates, and of Andrew Moffatt, whom Sullivan described to Hastings in April:

... [he] has the strongest Claims upon me ... [and] by his own & family Connections you have the warmest Support and in a very powerful Line. 19

He was still co-operating with Sullivan by April 1780, when, with other directors of mainly shipping allegiance, he refused to sign the 'House list', in an effort to challenge Ministerial control of the Direction.²⁰ He was noted as one of Sullivan's interest this year.²¹

Moffatt was named as an assistant commissioner by Fox's India Bill, and stood unsuccessfully for re-election in April 1784 in the 'House list' against Pitt's allies.²² However, he was brought in eight months later with Dundas's support.²³ He was now described as 'Highly adverse to Sullivan',²⁴ and became a steady, but not outspoken, follower of Administration. He voted in favour of Sir Archibald Campbell, Dundas's nominee for the Madras government,²⁵ and did not oppose the Ministry in the question of the King's regiments.²⁶ In 1788 Moffatt entered the Board of the Sun Fire Office, in which his family had been, and was to be, represented for many years.²⁷

He died at Charlton on 12 October 1790.²⁸

1. B.P.P., vol. 6 (Octr.-Decr. 1910), p. 377; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1067, f. 369 (1791): Will of Andrew Moffatt; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1197, f. 998 (1790): Will of James Moffatt; G.M., vol. 56, pt. 2 (1786), p. 998. Though the Moffatts' sister, Martha, clearly married Charles Bruce, Lord Elgin, S.P., vol. 3, p. 491 states that Bruce's wife was Martha, daughter of Thomas White, London banker.

2. I.O.L., Mar. Rec. Cat., pp. 39, 42, 44.
3. Besides his connection with the Earl of Elgin, he had links with Lord Mansfield, whose nephew, Sir Thomas Mills, married Andrew Moffatt's daughter.
4. Bute MSS., no. 113: James Oswald to Lord Bute, n.d.
5. E.g. in September 1766 Raymond and Andrew Moffatt were named as owner charter-parties for five ships, including the Latham, which James Moffatt commanded (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/82, p. 175).
6. Hough was owner charter-party for the Latham before 1763, when he was replaced by Andrew Moffatt. Hough's son was 4th. mate on this ship under James Moffatt (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/78, pp. 328, 355).
7. N.L.W., MS. 52, p. 43: John Walsh to Robert Clive, 22 Novr. 1764, where Sullivan is said to have been 'strong with the Moffatts'.
8. For Foulis, c.f. Freeman (q.v.). For the family connection, c.f. Appendix 2.
9. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/17, p. 594.
10. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. M_s., B/258, pp. 33-34.
11. Hardy (1), pp. 57, 61, 67, 72, 77, 80.
12. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, pp. 9, 17.
13. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 17.
14. Moffatt was said to be governed by Mansfield (I.O.L., MSS. Eur., E13/A, p. 640: Philip Francis to Henry Strachey, 21 Augt. 1776). who, though Lord Chief Justice, had not held Cabinet office since 1762; however, he was consulted regularly by the Ministry on legal matters, and was felt to have influence with the King (Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 189).
15. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., C7/A, p. 107: John Campbell to Philip Francis, 19 April 1774.
16. Gleig, vol. 2, p. 63: Lauchlin Maclean to Warren Hastings, 25 June 1776.
17. Gleig, vol. 2, p. 70: Lauchlin Maclean to Warren Hastings, 25 June 1776 (postscript dated, 10 Augt. 1776).
18. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., E13/A, p. 640: Philip Francis to Henry Strachey, 21 Augt. 1776.
19. B.L., Add. MSS., 29137, f. 146: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 1 April 1776.
20. Sutherland (1), p. 347.
21. B.L., Add. MSS., 29145, f. 326: John Woodhouse to Warren Hastings, 1 Augt. 1780.
22. Lewis, vol. 25, p. 490, n. 29.
23. Philips (1), p. 53.
24. Furber (1), p. 490: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 31 Jany. 1785.

25. Phillips (1), p. 42.
 26. Auber, p. 440.
 27. John Moffatt (a brother ?) was a Sun Fire director from 1767 to 1807, and William Moffatt, husband and ship-owner, from 1805 to 1822.
 28. G.M., vol. 60, pt. 2 (1790), p. 960.
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MONEY, William (1738-1796)

of Walthamstow, Essex.

Director of the East India Company 1789-92, 1794-d. 1796.

b., 3 March 1738, an only son; m., 4 Octr. 1767,
Martha, da. of James Taylor, of Carmarthen; 6s.
6da.. 1

Elder Brother of Trinity House 1785-96.

Money went to sea in the Company's service about 1753, and, rising through the ranks, took his oath as commander in August 1771.² Following two voyages to the East as captain of the Gatton,³ he remained active in the shipping world as a husband and East India proprietor. He was outspoken on behalf of the Company's ship-owners in 1785, when the directors proved slow in paying over money owed through charter-party agreements.⁴ Soon after his election to the Direction he joined his fellow shipping members in breaking ranks with the City interest in the Court, following proposals from the latter group to reduce the freightage on Company ships. Henceforth, the shipping interest tended to be hostile to Dundas.⁵

Money, a director of extensive connections in the shipping world, most notably with Robert Wigram,⁶ husband and early exponent of the 'clipper' in the East India trade, also married two of his daughters into the families of Moffatt and Williams.⁷

Of his six sons, five entered the Company's service, and the eldest, William Taylor Money, succeeded to his father's marine concerns, becoming a Company director and an Elder Brother of Trinity House.

Money died at Bath on 4 February 1796.⁸

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1. Chaplin Abstracts, 298/1; B.L.G. (1846 ed.), vol. 2, p. 875.
 2. I.O.L., Mar. Misc., 652, p. 3.
 3. I.O.L., Mar. Rec. Cat., p. 49.
 4. N.L.S., MS. 1066, f. 15: Two letters, dated 15 June and 21 Decr. 1785, to the Company chairman, Devaynes (q.v.), on shipping matters, and signed by a number of ship-owners.
 5. Philips (1), p. 62, n. 1.
 6. In 1788, Money sold Wigram the General Goddard, which was commanded by William Taylor Money (Green and Wigram, p. 51). Wigram was named as an executor in Money's will (P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1272, f. 137 (1796): Will of William Money).
 7. B.L.G. (1846 ed.), vol. 2, p. 875; G.M., vol. 60, pt. 1 (1790), p. 178. For the maritime concerns of these families, c.f. James Moffatt and Stephen Williams (qq.v.).
 8. G.M., vol. 66, pt. 1 (1796), p. 172
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MOTTEUX, John (c.1736-1793)

of Walbrook, London and of Banstead, Surrey.

Director of the East India Company 1769, 1784-86*-87**.

b., c. 1736, s. of John Anthony Motteux, Hamburg
merchant, by his w., Ann; m. ?; 2s. 2da.. 1

Motteux, like his father, was a London merchant with extensive commercial contacts on the Continent, particularly in France.² Following news of Clive's assumption of the diwani, and of his predicted increases in Company profits, Motteux became involved with Lauchlin Macleane, and with other speculators, in plans to engineer Sullivan's return to the Direction, and thereby achieve a rise in the Company dividend. Motteux was believed to have made a profit of £80,000 for Macleane in one particular transaction on the Amsterdam market.³ He became active in the General Court for Sullivan, and, in April 1767, supported his proposed terms for agreement with the Ministry in the charter negotiations.⁴ Motteux stood for election to the Direction in 1767 and 1768 with Sullivan on the 'Proprietors' list', but won few votes on either occasion.⁵

With his partner, the Anglo-French banker, Isaac Panchaud, he was brought into Macleane's 'Great Scheme', for which he created eleven votes,⁶ being elected to the Direction as one of Sullivan's party.⁷ However, when the fall in stock caught members of the victorious coalition still in possession of large amounts of stock, Motteux was faced with financial difficulties. Sullivan wrote later that Motteux had been a 'considerable Sufferer by his connexion with our late dear Harry Vansittart [q.v.]'.⁸ Motteux had, on Vansittart's departure for India in late 1769, taken it upon himself to honour the latter's obligations.⁹ However, he later estimated his losses

at about £5,000,¹⁰ while Panchaud's involvement in this, and in other schemes of Macleane, resulted in his virtual bankruptcy.¹¹

Motteux remained entangled in Sullivan's financial affairs for a number of years in the aftermath of the 'Great Scheme'. he managed the stock borrowed by Sullivan which could not yet be repaid,¹² and engaged to arrange for much needed remittances from Sullivan's son in Madras.¹³ Sullivan had hoped to bring Motteux back into the Direction in 1771,¹⁴ but had failed, and consequently his support for the Sullivan party was confined to the General Court. He was active in Hastings's defence in 1776, and Macleane wrote of him to the governor-general:

He is one of the Few who have never swerved from the Support of your Friends, from their first Election in M^r. Vansittarts time to the present moment. And Nbody can take a warmer part than he does in any thing that can affect You. ¹⁵

He again gave his support to Hastings's cause in 1782,¹⁶ and, with other members of the party, was brought forward as a candidate on the victorious 'Proprietors' list' of April 1784.¹⁷

Despite Motteux's obvious allegiances to Sullivan, he was felt to be well-inclined to Pitt's City followers in the Company.¹⁸ After Sullivan's death, as deputy chairman and chairman, Motteux acted in harmony with Dundas, taking a Government line in the matter of the King's regiments,¹⁹ and giving wholehearted support to Dundas's nominations for the Direction.²⁰

He died on 30 April 1793, at Teignmouth.²¹

1. G.M., vols. 11 (1741), p. 666; 63, pt. 1 (1793), p. 480; Wagner Abstracts, M0.10, Motteux family notes; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1232, f. 272 (1793); Will of John Motteux; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/746, f. 125 (1746); Will of Timothy Motteux. There is some confusion in existing sources between Motteux and a half-cousin of the same name. It would seem correct, however, to identify him with the son of John Anthony Motteux.
 2. The Motteuxs came originally from France, leaving Rouen in the late 17th. century (Mrs. Herbert Jones, Sandringham Past and Present (London, 1888), pp. 108-109). So reliable and well-informed were Motteux's French contacts, that his letters were opened by the Government during the American War to get the earliest intelligence of French movements (Colebrooke, pt. 2, p. 75, n. 1).
 3. Colebrooke, pt. 1, p. 109.
 4. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/257, p. 57.
 5. L.M., vols. 36 (1767), p. 200; 37 (1768), p. 226.
 6. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/17, pp. 590, 594.
 7. L.M., vol. 38 (1769), p. 218.
 8. B.L., Add. MSS., 29148, ff. 247^v-248: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 8 June 1781.
 9. Hist. MSS. Comm. Palk, p. 128: Laurence Sullivan to Robert Palk, c. May-Sept. 1770.
 10. Colebrooke, pt. 1, p. 168.
 11. Maclean, p. 298.
 12. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. hist., c471, f. 19: John Dunning to John Motteux, 4 May 1773.
 13. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. hist., c270, p. 41: Laurence Sullivan to Stephen Sullivan, 5 May 1778.
 14. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. hist., b190, f. 7: Laurence Sullivan to Henry Vansittart, 28 May 1770.
 15. B.L., Add. MSS., 29138, f. 68: Lauchlin Macleane to Warren Hastings, 28 Decr. 1776.
 16. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/260, pp. 209, 215.
 17. Lewis, vol. 25, p. 490, n. 29.
 18. Furber (1), p. 484: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 22 July 1784.
 19. Philips (1), p. 55.
 20. As in the case of Elphinstone (q.v.) (S.R.O., MS. GD/51/3/54b, f. 211: John Motteux to Henry Dundas, 23 Augt. 1786).
 21. G.M., vol. 63, pt. 1 (1793), p. 480.
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NEWNHAM, Nathaniel (c.1669-1778)

of Newtimber Place, Sussex.

Director of the East India Company 1738-41, 1743-46, 1748-51,
1753-56, 1758.

b., c. 1699, 2nd. surv. s. of Nathaniel Newnham, of
Streatham, Surrey by Honoria, eld. da. and coh. of
Thomas Kett, merchant, of St. Mary Axe, London;
m. Sarah Adams; 5s. 1da..

M.P. for Aldborough 9 Decr. 1743-54; Bramber 1754-61.¹

Director of the South Sea Company 1761.

Newnham, a London merchant of Dissenting background, whose interest in the East India Company derived mainly from his purchase of imported cloth, appears as a buyer at Company sales as early as 1726.² His family enjoyed a long standing friendship with the Pelhams in Sussex, and it was on Newcastle's interest that he entered Parliament in 1743.³ At East India House, where he was said to be 'a great authority in the Court of Directors',⁴ he fulfilled Newcastle's requests for patronage,⁵ and later, in 1763, after retiring from the Direction, promised to support the party of Newcastle's choice in the forthcoming election.⁶

While on the Committee of Buying on 1757, he was accused of malpractice in the purchase of cloth for export, but, like Richard Chauncy (q.v.) at an earlier date,⁷ was cleared. He was able to retain considerable influence with the directors dealing with this aspect of the Company's trade. About 1760 he began to establish an interest in the cloth-manufacturing borough of Ashburton by promoting the export of local fabrics, but was challenged by Sullivan, who, as chairman, was in a better position to cultivate the Ashburton manufacturing interest by encouraging the Company to purchase Ashburton long ells.⁸

He died on 17 September 1778.⁹

1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 199.
 2. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/59, p. 51.
 3. Sedgwick, vol. 2, p. 293.
 4. Quoted in Sedgwick, vol. 2, p. 293.
 5. B.L., Add. MSS., 32732, f. 717: Nathaniel Newnham to Lord Newcastle, 23 Septr. 1753.
 6. B.L., Add. MSS., 32947, f. 275: 'Letter sent - March 23', which includes the names of proprietors whose support Newcastle expected in April 1763; B.L., Add. MSS., 32947, f. 305: Nathaniel Newnham to Lord Newcastle, 24 March 1763.
 7. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/74, pp. 430-431.
 8. Jucker, p. 26.
 9. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 199.
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PARDOE, John (1711-1798)

of Leyton, Essex.

Director of the East India Company 1765-68.

b., 1711, s. of John Pardoe, of Prince's Street,
Westminster; m., 31 July 1749, Ann, sis. of
Maj. Genl. Edward Urmiston; 1s.. 1

Sheriff of Essex 1775.²

Pardoe, a merchant of Size Lane, London, had acquired sufficient East India stock by May 1763 to merit Newcastle's approaches for his support for the Clive party in the Company.³ He was a candidate on the 'Proprietors' list' in the following year,⁴ and, though unsuccessful, enjoyed influential representation at Ministerial level through his patron, Sir Edward Turner.⁵ However, Pardoe was not popular with Clive's agent, Walsh, who felt Turner had done little to assist the 'splitting' campaign.⁶ After the election, in

which Pardoe was defeated, George Grenville wrote to the new Company chairman, Thomas Rous (q.v.):

In consequence of Sir Edward Turner's desire, I beg the liberty of recommending to you Mr. Pardoe, a relation of his, (who was one of the gentlemen upon the proprietors list) to be appointed a Director of the East India Company in case the vacancies now existing shall be filled up: as Sir Edward Turner has assured me that if Mr. Pardoe succeeds he will contribute all the assistance in his power, I cannot help expressing my wishes to you, that his request may be complied with as far as is possible.⁷

Turner proved more diligent in assisting Pardoe's candidacy in 1765 by the provision of 'split' votes in his support,⁸ and he was elected on the 'House list'.⁹ Pardoe went on to give his backing to the directors during the dividend battle of 1766 and 1767,¹⁰ and, after his four year term as a director, 'split' significant amounts of stock in the winter of 1768 to facilitate a continuance of the existing dominant majority in the Direction.¹¹

He showed himself a loyal follower of the North Ministry and of the King, by supporting the Government nominee against John Wilkes in the Middlesex elections of 1769.¹² He was brought forward by Ministerial managers as a member of the 'House list' for the Company election of 1774,¹³ by which date he had become an adherent of Lord Sandwich. Pardoe's inclusion was not popular with the directors, or with Clive's secretary, Strachey, who regarded him as a 'sad dog'.¹⁴ However, Ministerial pressure ensured his inclusion, but could not prevent his defeat in the election.¹⁵ He took Sandwich's line consistently in the General Court, and in return solicited his intervention with John Robinson to secure his selection for the 'House list' of 1776.¹⁶ Though nothing came

of his efforts this year, Sandwich espoused his cause in 1778 when, despite Robinson's apprehensions about the effects of Pardoe's unpopularity at East India House, insisted on his inclusion in the 'House list'. Sullivan, who stood against him, was consequently elected with a great majority, and the Ministry's hold over the Direction weakened.¹⁷

Sandwich pressed Pardoe's claims on North for a seat in the Direction again in 1781,¹⁸ and on Fox in 1783,¹⁹ but nothing came of either approach. He died on 9 October 1798 in Leyton.²⁰

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1. B.L.G., vol. 2, p. 486; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1314, f. 673 (1798): Will of John Pardoe. Pardoe should not be confused with his son, John Pardoe, M.P., as is the case in Sutherland (1), p. 425.
 2. G.M., vol. 45 (1775), p. 99.
 3. B.L., Add. MSS., 32948, f. 335: 'Proprietors of East India Stock from Lord Clive's Paper - May 19th 1763'.
 4. L.M., vol. 33 (1764), p. 215.
 5. Sir Edward Turner, 2nd. Bt., M.P., wealthy proprietor, and supporter of the Grenville Administration; his father had been a Company chairman, and his maternal grandfather, Sir Gregory Page, a director and ship-owner of immense wealth (Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, pp. 569-570; Sedgwick, vol. 2, pp. 319-320).
 6. I.O.L., Home Misc. Ser., 808, p. 232: John Walsh to Robert Clive, n.d.
 7. Tomlinson, p. 119: George Grenville to Thomas Rous, 17 April 1764.
 8. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/15, p. 870.
 9. G.M., vol. 35 (1765), p. 145.
 10. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/257, pp. 91-92.
 11. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/17, p. 648.
 12. George Rude, Wilkes and Liberty: A Social Study of 1763 to 1774 (Oxford, 1962), p. 83, n. 6.
 13. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 9.
 14. E.U.L., MSS. Photo 1697, correspondence 1766-74: Henry Strachey to Robert Clive, 29 March 1774 (postscript dated, 1 April 1774).

15. E.U.L., MSS. Photo 1697, correspondence 1766-74: Henry Strachey to Robert Clive, 15 April 1774.
 16. Sandwich MSS., F38/31: John Pardoe to Lord Sandwich, 10 March 1776.
 17. Sutherland (1), p. 333.
 18. Sandwich MSS., F39/44: John Robinson to Lord Sandwich, 30 August 1781.
 19. Sandwich MSS., F40/17: Charles James Fox to Lord Sandwich, 3 Septr. 1783.
 20. B.L.G., vol. 2, p. 486; G.M., vol. 68, pt. 2 (1798), p. 911.
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PARRY, Thomas (1732-1816)

of Berners Street, London and of Banstead, Surrey.

Director of the East India Company Octr. 1781-April 1782, 1783-86, 1788-91, 1793-96, 1798-1801, 1803-06.

b., 23 Octr. 1732, s. of Henry Parry, of St. Clement Danes, London; m. Mary, sis. of Thomas Oakes, East India Company servant; 3s. and 1da. are known. 1

Parry was said to have made his fortune as secretary to Admiral Samuel Cornish,² naval commander from 1761 in Indian waters during the Seven Years War. Like Michie (q.v.), he was agent for captured French possessions, being present at the fall of Pondicherry in 1761,³ and later entrusted with the distribution of spoils from Manila when it was taken from the Spanish.⁴

As an East India proprietor during the years of the North Ministry, he supported Administration, more particularly, Lord Sandwich, undoubtedly as a result of his naval connections and contracts from the Admiralty which he seems to have enjoyed.⁵ He was brought into the Direction in October 1781 to replace the Government follower, John Stables (q.v.), following

negotiations with the Treasury secretary, John Robinson.⁶

Following his re-election in 1783, he was noted as a friend of Hastings,⁷ and was one of those thanked by the General Court in December for his part in the defeat of Fox's India Bill.⁸ He seems to have had interests in common with elements of the 'East Indian' group in the Company, perhaps dating from his own years in India, and may be the attorney of that name appointed by the Madras-based creditors of the Nawab of Arcot in 1769, to represent their interests in London.⁹ As an executor of Admiral Cornish's estate, he was involved in the remittance of large sums of money still tied up in India.¹⁰

Richard Atkinson (q.v.) wrote of him:

Mr Parry - would vote with Sullivan for the Chair, & with the Whim of the Job of the Hour upon all other matters ... Vain - & interested - without the least pretensions to any thing distinguished. 11

After Sullivan's death, Parry is seen as one of the remaining 'Indians' in the Direction who were hostile to Dundas.¹² His disinclination to take a Government line may also have been influenced by his connections with the shipping interest which was hostile to Dundas from the late 1780's.¹³

He died in Berners Street, London on 9 April 1816,¹⁴ and was succeeded in the Direction by his son, Richard, in 1815.

1. B.L.G. (1952 ed.), p. 1975. Parry is said here to have had only one son, Richard, the future Company director. For reference to two other sons in the Company service, and a daughter, c.f. Bengal Obituary, p. 199; G.M., vol. 62, pt. 1 (1792), p. 575; I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/99, p. 675.

2. Furber (1), p. 485: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 22 July 1784.

3. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/80, p. 150.

4. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/80, p. 377.
 5. Sandwich MSS., F39/11: Thomas Parry to Lord Sandwich, 18 April 1778.
 6. Sandwich MSS., F39/44: John Robinson to Lord Sandwich, 30 Augt. 1781.
 7. B.L., Add. MSS., 25159, f. 22: John Scott to Warren Hastings, 10 April 1783.
 8. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/260, p. 302.
 9. Gurney, p. 102.
 10. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/98, p. 151.
 11. Furber (1), p. 484: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 22 July 1784.
 12. Philips (1), p. 61, n. 3.
 13. Parry would seem to have been involved as an underwriter in marine insurance (Frederick Martin, The History of Lloyds ... (London, 1876), p. 233).
 14. G.M., vol. 86, pt. 1 (1816), p. 475.
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PATTLE, Thomas (1748-1818)

of Bryanstone Street, Portman Square, London.

Director of the East India Company 1787-90, 1792-April 1795.

b., 30 April 1748, o.s. of Capt. Thomas Pattle, East India ship-owner, of Poplar, London; educ. at John Chalmer's Putney boarding school; m., 10 June 1770, in Kasimbazar, Sarah Haselby. 1

Pattle was appointed writer in the Company's Bengal establishment in 1765.² Through the patronage of Harry Verelst (q.v.), governor of Bengal, on whose behalf Pattle's father was active at East India House in London,³ he rose to the rank of fourth in council at Kasimbazar by 1771.⁴ During the dissensions in the supreme council in the 1770's, Pattle's contacts were with Hastings, who recommended him for a seat in the Dacca council in 1774,⁵ and with Richard Barwell, who, on the eve of Pattle's departure for England in 1779, committed to his care the

management of his sister's financial affairs.⁶

Pattle stood for election to the Direction in 1783, against the 'House list',⁷ and in January 1784, against the candidates of the proprietors' committee, by attempting to mobilise his own, and his father's, 'East Indian' connections,⁸ but with no success. Despite Dundas's tightening grip on Company elections, Pattle once again contested the election of April 1787 as an independent candidate, and was elected bottom of the poll.⁹

On Sullivan's death, Pattle has been regarded as one of the 'Indian' members of the Direction who became hostile to the Ministry.¹⁰ However, the flimsiness of his majority in April 1787 may have disposed him rather to court Dundas's favour. He did not oppose Administration over the King's regiments in the year of his election,¹¹ and, in 1789, acted in concert with Dundas's henchman, David Scott (q.v.), in the choice of chairman.¹²

Pattle resigned from the Direction in April 1795 to return to Bengal, where he remained until 1810, holding a number of high-ranking offices.¹³ He died in Bryanstone Street, London on 8 August 1818.¹⁴

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1. Holzman, pp. 156-157; I.O.L., MSS. Eur., D546/32, f. 78: Thomas Pattle [senior] to John Walsh, 24 Feby. 1783; 'Baptisms in Calcutta, 1767 to 1777', B.P.P., vol. 25 (Jany.-June 1923), p. 150.
 2. Holzman, pp. 156-157.
 3. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 606 (no foliation): Harry Verelst to Thomas Pattle [senior], 26 Sept. 1767.
 4. Holzman, pp. 156-157.
 5. 'Baptisms in Calcutta, 1767 to 1777', B.P.P., vol. 25 (Jany.-June 1923), p. 150.

6. Barwell Letter-Book, B.P.P., vol. 18 (1919), p. 15:
Richard Barwell to Thomas Pattle, 7 Feby. 1779.
 7. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., D546/32, f. 78: Thomas Pattle [senior]
to John Walsh, 24 Feby. 1783; Sandwich MSS., F40/5: John
Chamier to Lord Sandwich, 9 March 1783.
 8. E.U.L., MS. LAl1, 73/156^a: Printed letter from George John-
stone (q.v.) to the proprietors of East India stock, solicit-
ing support, and dated, 6 Jany, 1784.
 9. P.A., 7 April 1787.
 10. Philips (1), p. 61, n. 3.
 11. Auber, p. 440.
 12. S.R.O., MS. GD/51/3/15, f. 39: David Scott to Henry
Dundas, 9 April 1789.
 13. I.O.L., Bengal Civilians, N-Q, O/6/27, p. 1439.
 14. G.M., vol. 88, pt. 2 (1818), p. 376.
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PAYNE, John (1708-1764)

of Lothbury, London.

Director of the East India Company 1741-44, 1746-47, 1749-52,
1754-56*-57**.

b., 1708, eld. s. of John Payne, linen draper;
m. Elizabeth, of the Le Clerc de Virly family; 2s.
2da.. 1

Payne's father left his native Northamptonshire at the end of the seventeenth century, and built up a profitable linen business in London, to which Payne succeeded.² With his brother, Edward, he dealt in cloth with the East India Company, and had shares in Company shipping.³ Like other merchants of similar background, the Paynes were moving from purely mercantile concerns into the realms of finance, Edward becoming a director of the Bank of England in 1756, and John entering a partnership with the Nottinghamshire banker, Abel Smith, in 1758, to form the banking firm of Smith and Payne.⁴

As Company chairman in 1757, Payne led the faction of

directors favouring Holwell for the Bengal government. Faced with opposition to this proposal from Sullivan and the nascent 'East Indian' interest, and embarrassed by his own 'Private Friendships & Connections', he put forward a scheme whereby four of the most senior Bengal servants would hold the government in rotation.⁵ With the arrival of news that Clive was remaining in Bengal, the dispute centred on the appointment of his successor. Sullivan's party was able to overthrow the rotation plan in the General Court, and so the contest for control of the Direction was carried over to the election of April 1758.⁶

In this, the first contested election in a new era of Company politics, Payne and his followers, predominantly directors of long standing, made little attempt to canvass support, and were taken aback by the unheralded preparations of the 'New Gentry', which swung the election to Sullivan.⁷ Payne, upset by the 'Mortifications of March and April', and taking defeat as a personal insult, carried his opposition to the General Court, where he continued to put Holwell's case. Robert Orme was told in January 1759:

Mr Payne is so much displeased, that every One hath not the same Opinion of Mr. Holwell as He entertains, that He seems desirous of thwarting every Measure, pursued by Those with whom He is Angry, and I suppose a Contest will follow at the next Election of Directors. 8

However, a growing disillusionment with the turn Company politics had taken, and the defeat of his proposal to limit the power of the General Court following its rejection of his rotation scheme,⁹ seem to have disposed Payne to retire from Company affairs, and to concentrate on his banking concerns.

Days after the election of 1758 he had sold off most of his East India stock, retaining sufficient only to qualify as a proprietor.¹⁰ By March 1759 Holwell was writing that he would be 'much ... astonished' to find Payne resuming any leading role in Company affairs.¹¹

At the time of his death on 26 August 1764, at Southampton, he possessed considerable landed property, while his interest in the family merchant business was worth over £60,000. He was succeeded in the bank by his son, René.¹²

1. J.A.S.L.-Boyce, Smiths the Bankers, 1658-1958 (London, 1958), pp. 68-69; Jewers, vol. 3, p. 699; W.K. Firminger (ed.), The Narrative of the Life of a Gentleman long resident in by G.F. Grand (Calcutta, 1910), pp. 5-6. Payne's father may be identifiable with a John Payne, noted erroneously as an East India director, who died on 25 December 1747 (G.M., vol. 17 (1747), p. 592).
2. Boyce, loc. cit..
3. Sutherland (2), p. 117.
4. Boyce, op. cit., pp. 53-54. The firm, which resumed the sole name of 'Smiths' later, remained independent until 1902, when it was amalgamated with the Union Bank of London, and subsequently, in 1910, with the National Provincial Bank.
5. I.O.L., Orme MSS., O.V. 28, p. 243: John Payne to Robert Orme, 18 Feby. 1758.
6. Sutherland (1), pp. 68-70.
7. I.O.L., Orme MSS., O.V. 293, p. 103: John Payne to Robert Orme, 30 Octr. 1758.
8. I.O.L., Orme MSS., O.V. 293, p. 79: Joseph Godfrey to Robert Orme, 17 Jany. 1759.
9. I.O.L., Orme MSS., O.V. 293, p. 79: Joseph Godfrey to Robert Orme, 17 Jany. 1759.
10. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/12, p. 520.
11. I.O.L., Orme MSS., O.V. 21, p. 18: Zephaniah Holwell to John Payne, c. March 1759.
12. Boyce, op. cit., pp. 71-73.

PEACH, Samuel (1725-1790)

of Minchinhampton, Gloucestershire.

Director of the East India Company 1773-74, 1776-79, April-
Octr. 1781.

b., 1725, s. of John Peach, of Chalford, Gloucestershire, by Sarah Small, of Minchinhampton; m., 9 Decr. 1756, Christina, da. of Howard Cox, of Bristol and Virginia; 4s. 4da..

M.P. for Cricklade 4 March 1775-19 Feby. 1776.¹

Peach, a London silk merchant and banker, was brought into the 'House list' in April 1774 by Ministerial managers to win over the support of the husband, Charles Raymond, his patron.² He was already on the 'Proprietors' list',³ but, on his election, seems generally to have been regarded as a follower of Administration.⁴ He had voted with the Government in the General Court soon after his election in 1773,⁵ and, in December 1774, stood for Parliament on the interest of the Government contractor, Arnold Nesbitt.⁶

As his allegiances were not directly to Government, Peach may have been able to take a more independent line than other Ministerial nominees in certain questions. He voted against the motion to recall Hastings in May 1776,⁷ and, in the continuing struggle to defend the governor-general, Sullivan was able to speak highly of him.⁸ Peach was forced to resign from the Direction, having declared himself bankrupt in August 1781.⁹ He died on 14 December 1790.¹⁰

1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 254.

2. E.U.L., MSS. Photo 1697, correspondence 1766-74: Henry Strachey to Robert Clive, 29 March 1774 (postscript dated, 1 April 1774).

3. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 17.

4. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. hist., c269, p. 27: Laurence Sullivan to Stephen Sullivan, [1778].

5. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/258, p. 214.
6. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 255.
7. Gleig, vol. 2, p. 65: Lauchlin Maclean to Warren Hastings, 25 June 1776.
8. B.L., Add. MSS., 29143, f. 282: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 19 May 1779.
9. B.L., Add. MSS., 29150, f. 22^v: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 7 Augt. 1781. Peach has been listed elsewhere (Sutherland (1), p. 378, n. 4) among those directors supporting Rockingham in 1783, though he left the Direction in October 1781.
10. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 255.

PHIPPS, Thomas (c.1708-1776)

of Heywood House, Westbury, Wiltshire.

Director of the East India Company 1742-45, 1747-50, 1752-55, 1757-58.

b., c. 1708, in ?Bombay, s. of William Phipps, governor of Bombay, 1720-28, by his w., Hannah; m., 10 April 1742, Sarah, da. and h. of Richard Peckham, of Sussex; 2s. 4da.. 1

Phipps's father returned from Bombay about 1729, and was highly regarded by the directors for the cuts in expenditure he was able to carry out while governor of Bombay.² He seems to have set up in business in London as a cloth merchant,³ while retaining many connections with former colleagues in India.⁴ His family's continuing interests in East India affairs were evinced by his son, Edward, joining the Company as a super-cargo,⁵ and by the election of Thomas, a London merchant, to the Company Direction in 1742. Besides his concerns in cloth, Thomas Phipps had the interests of relatives and business associates in India to serve while on the Direction. He assisted the careers of his cousins, Brabazon and William

Ellis, the former a Bombay councillor from 1754, and the latter a senior Company servant in Bengal during the unsettled years of the late 'fifties and early 'sixties, and a councillor from 1759.

During the dissensions in the Directorate during 1757 and 1758 over the succession to the Bengal government, Phipps sided with Sullivan against Holwell. He opposed the rotation scheme put forward by Payne (q.v.), and was instrumental in persuading the proprietors to reject the idea.⁶ Like Sullivan, he had Bengal connections to serve, particularly William Ellis, in whose financial concerns he was involved.⁷ Phipps could also claim some identity of interest with Sullivan based on the Bombay background of both men, and, though not an 'East Indian' by virtue of Company service, was considered a member of the 'Bombay faction'.⁸ In 1754, Sullivan and Samuel Hough had stood surety for Brabazon Ellis, on his promotion to the Bombay council.⁹

After leaving the Direction, Phipps continued to represent the interests of the Ellis brothers,¹⁰ but, as an East India proprietor and county supporter of the Duke of Newcastle,¹¹ was obliged to vote with Clive's party against Sullivan in 1763.¹² During 1767, he was a member of the group, composed predominantly of supporters of the existing Direction, which opposed a rise in the dividend as set out in Sullivan's terms for agreement with the Government.¹³

He died in 1776.¹⁴

1. B.L.G. (1846 ed.), vol. 2, p.1040; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/766, f. 374 (1748): Will of William Phipps; G.M., vol. 12 (1742), p. 218.
 2. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/61, p. 268.
 3. William Phipps, linen draper, appears in the trade directory for 1736 (The Directory of ... Eminent Traders ... (London, 1736), p. 36).
 4. William Phipps and Richard Benyon, governor of Madras, stood surety in 1732 for William Wake, Bombay councillor and governor from 1742 to 1750 (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/61, p. 521). Phipps also made provision for Wake in his will.
 5. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/66, p. 471.
 6. Holwell, p. 159.
 7. I.O.L., Ct. Bks., B/70, p. 567; B/71, p. 272; Fort William-India House Correspondence, vol. 2, p. 294.
 8. Holwell, p. 156.
 9. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/72, p. 581.
 10. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/76, p. 180.
 11. B.L., Add. MSS., 32961, f. 273: Thomas Phipps to Lord Newcastle, 16 Augt. 1764.
 12. B.L., Add. MSS., 32947, f. 299: Thomas Phipps to Lord Newcastle, 24 March 1763.
 13. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/257, pp. 67, 89.
 14. B.L.G. (1846 ed.), vol. 2, p.1040. Note of Phipps's death does not appear in Musgrave.
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PIGOU, Frederick (1711-1792)

of Wimpole Street, London.

Director of the East India Company 1758-61, 1763-66, 1768-71,
1773-77.

b., 11 June 1711, 2nd. s. of Anselm Frederick
Pigou, merchant of London, by Catherine, da. of
John Camine, of Rouen; m., 17 May 1732, Henrietta
Dunbar, da. of Nenry Harkorne; 4s. 2da.. 1

Director of the Sun Fire Office 1763-92.

The Pigous were members of London's Dutch Huguenot community, which was involved in trade and finance. Anselm Frederick Pigou had connections with the East India Company through the cloth trade,² and with the Continent through his role as stock broker for financial houses in Amsterdam.³ Frederick Pigou joined the Company in September 1730 as writer to the China supercargoes,⁴ and served continuously for twenty seven years, attaining the rank of chief supercargo in Canton by 1739.⁵ Pigou resigned in July 1757, and, it would seem, on intimating his desire to continue to serve the Company at home,⁶ was brought into the Direction in the following April.

In the Company election of 1758 he protested at the inclusion of his name in the rebel 'Proprietors' list',⁷ but, in subsequent years became one of his supporters. As a director of the Sun Fire Office, he had interests in common with other Sullivan connections, notably those involved in marine insurance.⁸ There seems to have been a long standing relationship between Pigou's family and that of Charles Crommelin,⁹ governor of Bombay from 1760 to 1767, also of Huguenot origin, and an associate of certain members of the 'Bombay faction'.¹⁰ Elected to the Direction on Sullivan's 'list' in 1763 and 1764,¹¹ Pigou supported him in the matters of Spencer's Bengal appointment, and the extraordinary

powers proposed for Clive's Bengal select committee.¹²

However, by November 1764, two of Clive's closest associates, Walsh and Scrafton (q.v.), were reporting that Pigou had deserted Sullivan, and would be willing to stand on the 'list' put forward by Rous (q.v.) and Clive in April.¹³ Pigou was consequently elected on the 'House list',¹⁴ and went on to act consistently with the new majority in the Court. Sullivan, in reviewing his fall from power, complained in 1766:

M^r Pigou has long left me.¹⁵

Under the North Ministry Pigou was regarded as a supporter of Administration, and, in the crucial election contest of April 1774, was chosen on the 'House list' with Ministerial backing.¹⁶ In May 1776, by which time he held a Government contract, he voted in favour of Hastings's recall.¹⁷ Following the directors' reversal of this decision in the face of hostility from the General Court, he entered his dissent with other Ministerial directors.¹⁸

Pigou did not stand for the Direction again after 1777, but had found Indian appointments for at least three of his sons by this date. Before his death, he entered a partnership with his nephew, Miles Peter Andrews, in the prosperous Dartford gunpowder mills, in which business Andrews (later an M.P.) made a 'substantial fortune'.¹⁹ Pigou died on 30 November 1792.²⁰

1. Wagner Abstracts, Ph.-Pn., Pigou family notes.

2. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/64, p. 37.

3. Wilson, pp. 106, 210.

4. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/61, p. 116.

5. Morse, vol. 1, p. 220.
 6. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/74, p. 426.
 7. Sutherland (1), p. 71, n. 3.
 8. E.g. Godfrey, Plant and William Thornton (-Astell) (qq.v.).
 9. Pigou's father had financial ties with Crommelin's father, Marc Antoine Crommelin, a Bombay factor in 1712 (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/52, p. 341). Pigou's eldest brother had the Christian name of 'Crommelin'.
 10. E.g. George Dudley (q.v.).
 11. G.M., vol. 33 (1763), p. 199; L.M., vol. 33 (1764), p. 215.
 12. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/80, pp. 25, 82.
 13. N.L.W., MS. 52, p. 42: John Walsh to Robert Clive, 22 Novr. 1764; N.L.W., MS. 52, pp. 114-115: Luke Scrafton to Robert Clive, 14 Novr. 1764.
 14. G.M., vol. 35 (1765), p. 145.
 15. B.L., Add. MSS., 29132, f. 291^v: Laurence Sullivan to Sir Robert Fletcher, 12 Feby. 1766.
 16. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 9.
 17. B.L., Add. MSS., 29137, f. 204^v: Francis Sykes to Warren Hastings, 30 May 1776.
 18. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/92, p. 211.
 19. Sutherland (2), p. 141; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1226, f. 628 (1792): Will of Frederick Pigou.
 20. G.M., vol. 62, pt. 2 (1792), p. 1154.
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PLANT, Henry (c.1707-1784)

of Norfolk Street, London and of Spreading Green, Buckinghamshire.

Director of the East India Company 1745-48, 1750-53, 1755-58.

b., c. 1707; m., 1748, Jane Hylland, of Hillingdon, Middlesex; d.s.p. . 1

Director of the Bank of England 1759-61, 1762-64, 1765-68, 1769-72, 1773-76, 1777-80, 1781-84.

Director of the Sun Fire Office 1753-84.

Plant joined the Company as writer to the China supercargoes on October 1727, when his sureties were members of the City mercantile community.² He remained in China for many years as a Canton councillor, returning to England sometime after 1740.

As a Company director in 1757 he supported Sullivan in the contest over the succession to the Bengal government,³ and there is evidence that he was on good terms with elements of the 'Bombay faction', of which he was regarded a member.⁴ In his will he referred to Stephen Law (q.v.), with whom he may have seen service in the East, as one of his 'good friends'. Thomas Phipps (q.v.), whom Plant named as an executor, and of whom he spoke highly,⁵ also had a Bombay background and was working with Sullivan at the time.

Plant sold off all his India stock soon after leaving the Direction,⁶ and, in subsequent years, seems to have been more concerned with the affairs of the Bank of England. He died at Spreading Green about November 1784.⁷

1. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1123, f. 611 (1784): Will of Henry Plant; G.M., vol. 18 (1748), p. 572.

2. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/59, pp. 338, 385.

3. Sutherland (1), p. 66, n. 1.
 4. Holwell, p. 156.
 5. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1123, f. 611 (1784): Will of Henry Plant.
 6. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/12, p. 522.
 7. G.M., vol. 54, pt. 2 (1784), p. 875.
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PURLING, John (c.1772-1800)

of Portland Place, London and of Bradford Peverell, Dorset.
 Director of the East India Company 1763-66, 1768-70*-71**,
 1777-80.

b., c. 1722, on ?St. Helena; m., 1755, Nancy,
 2nd. da. of Capt. William Fitzhugh, of Poplar,
 and sis. of Thomas Fitzhugh (q.v.); d.s.p.

M.P. for New Shoreham 26 Novr. 1770-17 Decr. 1770; East
 Looe 9 April 1772-1774; Weymouth and Melcombe Regis 1774-90.¹

Of obscure origins, Purling rose in the Company's marine service to the command of the Sandwich and Neptune Indiamen on their voyages to the East between 1752 and 1762.² He enjoyed connections with families which had long standing interests in shipping, such as the Fitzhughs,³ and with sections of the shipping interest associated with Sullivan.⁴ Purling was elected to the Direction in 1763 on Sullivan's 'list',⁵ and was said to have been obliged to him,⁶ probably as a result of his being allocated the lucrative China voyage on his last trip to the East. However, Purling voted against Spencer's Bengal appointment as governor of Bengal,⁷ while his growing links with forces hostile to Sullivan were illustrated by his being 'double-listed' in April 1764.⁸ He went on to support Clive's appointment to India, and was eager that the controversial select committee be used to the full against corrupt

Company servants.⁹

He continued to co-operate with Clive's majority in the Direction,¹⁰ and to act as one of his staunchest friends, but tended to gravitate towards Sir George Colebrooke (q.v.), who was beginning to replace Rous (q.v.) at the head of the Company by the late 1760's. Purling and Colebrooke were approached by Lord North in 1770 in the hope that they might consider bringing Sullivan back into the Direction, and so end the dissensions at East India House.¹¹ No such reconciliation was achieved at this time, however. Purling was implicated in the mishandling of the Company's financial situation during the year of his chairmanship, being accused, like Colebrooke, of producing inflated figures to facilitate speculation in stock. When doubts were cast on his figures at the time, it was reported:

... this stimulated Purling, (then Chairman) ...
 [who] with great pleasure found there would be
 a small Surplus without borrowing ... [and] he
 had privately made out an Acco. to prove it, and
 which if necessary, the Accomptant would vouch:
 he weakly added (and w.^{ch} is now remember'd) that
 the further we went, the better the Acco.^t would
 appear. 12

In the face of attacks over his conduct, he announced in March 1773 that he would not stand for the Direction again until his name had been cleared.¹³

He remained active in East India affairs as a proprietor, and took a prominent part in the shipping interest's efforts to obtain compensation for commanders deprived of voyages by the reforms introduced by the Regulating Act.¹⁴ He was on good terms with Richard Barwell, whose appointment to the supreme council in Bengal he and Colebrooke had been

instrumental in securing,¹⁵ and, like the Barwell family, was a creditor of Colebrooke after the financial 'crash' of 1772.¹⁶ He was absent from the Direction in 1775, when the question of recalling Hastings and Barwell arose, and proved an active, though unreliable, advocate of the governor-general's cause. Sullivan reported to Hastings:

M^r. Purling has taken the part of supporting you whether from the desire of serving Barwell, or Regard for the Gov^r Gen^r. I know not. 17

He was expected to be a Ministerial candidate in 1775,¹⁸ but did not return to the Direction until 1777. Elected to Parliament in 1780, he voted with Administration, and entered Lord Sandwich's political sphere, though their connection may date back to Purling's years at sea, when he commanded the Sandwich Indiaman.¹⁹ He now took a moderate line in Company politics, and, unlike Government adherents, remained faithful to Hastings²⁰ (under whom Purling's nephew was serving in Bengal).

He died on 23 August 1800, in Portland Place.²¹

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1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 343 (where no mention is made of Purling's marriage into the Fitzhugh family); B.L.G., vol. 2, p. 204.
 2. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 343; I.O.L., Mar. Rec. Cat., pp. 35, 37, 39.
 3. C.f. Thomas Fitzhugh (q.v.).
 4. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/74, p. 170.
 5. G.M., vol. 33 (1763), p. 199.
 6. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., E302/1, f. 20^v: John Spencer to Laurence Sullivan, 2 Decr. 1765.
 7. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/79, p. 302.
 8. L.M., vol. 33 (1764), p. 215.
 9. N.L.W., MS. 52, pp. 207-209: John Purling to Robert Clive, 21 Novr. 1766.

10. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/257, p. 89.
 11. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. Lett., d350, f. 35: Lord North to Sir George Colebrooke, 2 Octr. 1770.
 12. B.L., Add. MSS., 29133, ff. 533^v-534: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 28 April 1773.
 13. B.L., Add. MSS., 29133, f. 494^v: John Caillaud to Warren Hastings, 15 March 1773.
 14. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/259, pp. 82, 84.
 15. Colebrooke, pt. 2, p. 36.
 16. Hist. MSS. Comm. Palk, p. 244: Robert Palk to Laurence Sullivan, 21 Septr. 1774.
 17. B.L., Add. MSS., 29136, f. 379: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 7 Decr. 1775.
 18. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., C7/A, p. 71: John C. Roberts to Philip Francis, 23 Feby. 1775.
 19. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 343.
 20. G.M., vol. 70, pt. 2 (1800), p. 903.
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RAYMOND, John ?(c.1713-1800)

of London.

Director of the East India Company 1757-60.

b., ?c. 1713, s. of Baynham Raymond, by his w., Lydia, and cos. of Jones Raymond (q.v.); m. 2nd. da. of Daniel Booth, of Hatton Hall, Essex, director of the Bank of England; 11 children. 1

Director of the South Sea Company 1773-84, 1788-90.

Raymond, a Portugal merchant and ship-owner, belonged to a family of long standing importance in the shipping worlds of the East India and South Sea Companies.² He appears as early as 1737 as owner charter-party for the Wager Indiaman, commanded by his cousin, Charles Raymond,³ who was later to become the most powerful ship's husband of his time. As a Company director Raymond sat continuously in the Shipping Committee. Before the election of 1758, he was one of eight directors objecting to their inclusion in the rebel

'Proprietors' list',⁴ and opposed Sullivan's attempts to deprive Holwell of the Bengal government.⁵ However, he had many marine connections with Sullivan, and, like other such objectors in 1758,⁶ may have come to co-operate with him by the early 1760's, when Sullivan was able to rely heavily on the shipping interest for support. Like Charles Raymond,⁷ he was associated with Sullivan's henchman, Samuel Hough,⁸ as in 1763, when he replaced him as owner charter-party for the ships, Talbot and Lord Clive.

After leaving the Direction, Raymond remained prominent in shipping affairs as a husband,⁹ and ship-builder.¹⁰ In March 1772, he expressed his concern, with other members of the shipping interest, at the Government's plans to reduce the tonnage of Company shipping.¹¹ It would seem correct to identify him with the John Raymond, of Bedford Square, who died on 2 September 1800.¹²

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1. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/684, f. 168 (1737): Will of Hugh Raymond; G.M., vol. 58, pt. 1 (1788), p. 565.
 2. C.f. Appendix 2. His uncles, Hugh and John Raymond, had both commanded East Indiamen. The former became a director of the South Sea and London Assurance Companies.
 3. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/64, p. 487.
 4. Sutherland (1), p. 71, n. 3.
 5. Holwell, p. 167.
 6. E.g. Dorrien, Pigou and Rooke (qq.v.).
 7. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/77, p. 334.
 8. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/78, pp. 299, 323.
 9. Hardy (1), passim.
 10. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/95, p. 275.
 11. I.O.L., Genl Ct. Mins., B/258, pp. 33-34.
 12. G.M., vol. 70, pt. 2 (1800), p. 908.
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RAYMOND, Jones (? -1768)

of Langley, Kent and of Saling Hall, Essex.

Director of the East India Company 1734-37, 1739-42, 1744-47,
1749-52, 1754-57.

b. ?, o. s. of Capt. Hugh Raymond, of Langley,
Kent, by Dynah, da. of Capt. Samuel Jones;
unm.. 1

Raymond was associated in the ownership of East India shipping with his father, Captain Hugh Raymond, a wealthy shipping magnate.² He inherited these marine concerns, and continued in business as an owner in his own right,³ entering the Direction in 1734. In his last year as a director, he was joined by his cousin, John Raymond (q.v.), who succeeded him in the role of family representative in the Company Directorate. Apart from his business connections with Charles and John Raymond, both of whom were named as executors in his will, Raymond seems to have been on close terms with his brother-in-law, Peter Burrell, M.P., Government contractor and Portugal merchant, whose estate was also situated in Kent. Burrell's family was treated generously by Raymond in his will.⁴

Raymond died in March 1768, 'possess'd of a large estate in Kent'.⁵

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1. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/684, f. 168 (1737): Will of Hugh Raymond; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/938, f. 172 (1768): Will of Jones Raymond; G.M., vol. 38 (1768), p. 143.
 2. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/60, pp. 348, 384.
 3. I.O.L., Ct. Bks., B/61, p. 510; B/65, p. 164.
 4. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/938, f. 172 (1768): Will of Jones Raymond.
 5. G.M., vol. 38 (1768), p. 143.
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RIDER, William (? -1755)

of Twickenham, Middlesex.

Director of the East India Company 1738-41, 1743-46, 1748-51,
1753-54.

b. ?, s. of Richard Rider, Registrar of Bishop's
Court, Lichfield; m., 26 Jany. 1725, Frances, da.
of John Baker, draper, of Basinghall Street,
London, by his 1st. w., Ellen Longe; 2da.. 1

At the time of his marriage, in 1725, Rider is referred to as 'of Madeira',² and would seem to be identifiable with the 'Consul Rider' who returned to England from there in the previous year.³ While resident in Madeira, he was partner in a number of firms of wine merchants, but by 1740 was acting as London agent for the firm of Rider, Chambers and Baker.⁴ The other members of the partnership were Charles Chambers (q.v.), a Company director from 1755, and Richard Baker, Rider's brother-in-law, and brother of the influential City merchant, and East India director, Sir William Baker, M.P.. Sir William, whose main interests lay in trade with America, was also a wine merchant, and the associate of the Brice Fisher group in Company shipping.⁵ Rider's consistent membership of the Shipping Committee points to his involvement in marine concerns, most likely in conjunction with the Baker brothers, Richard and Sir William as owners, and Felix as commander of the Stafford Indiaman.⁶

On his retirement from the Direction in April 1755, Rider was succeeded by Chambers. He died on 23 March 1755,⁷ leaving property in Staffordshire and Middlesex to his wife and daughters.⁸

1. Cussans, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 144; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/815, f. 113 (1755); Will of William Rider.
 2. Cussans, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 144.
 3. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/58, p. 202.
 4. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/66, p. 49.
 5. For the Brice Fisher group, c.f. Chapter 2.
 6. Sutherland (2), pp. 119, 153.
 7. G.M., vol. 25 (1755), p. 138.
 8. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/815, f. 113 (1755); Will of William Rider.
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ROBARTS, Abraham (c.1744-1816)

of Grosvenor Street, London and of Lillingstone Dayrell,
Buckinghamshire.

Director of the East India Company March-April 1786, 1788-91, 1798-1801, 1803-06, 1808-11, 1813-Oct. 1815.

b., c. 1744, ?s. of Abraham Robarts, merchant of London; m., 1774, Sabine, da. of Thomas Tierney, prize merchant, of Limerick, and sis. of Rt. Hon. George Tierney, President of the East India Board of Control, 1806-07; 4s. 4da.. 1

M.P. for Worcester City 1796-1816.

Director of the Royal Exchange Insurance Company 1781-86.

Robarts is best known as a City banker in partnership with Sir William Curtis after 1792, in the firm of Robarts, Curtis, Were, Hornygold and Beswick, of Cornhill.² Earlier, he was a partner in the firm, Tierney, Lilly and Robarts, Spanish merchants, with James Tierney, whose niece he married in 1774.³ It was about this time that Robarts began dealing to any extent in India stock,⁴ though his father-in-law had had similar interests for a long time, and had only recently concluded a law suit with Lauchlin Maclean over stock lent to that adventurer for the 'Great Scheme' of 1769.⁵

Robarts stood for the East India Direction in March 1786, and, when elected, joined the Company's City interest. He had previously shown himself to be a supporter of Administration by contesting Wootton Bassett in the general election of 1784 with his brother-in-law, George Tierney, though both had been defeated.⁶ Robarts was re-elected to the Direction in 1788, though Tierney, who had also proposed himself as a candidate, was refused Dundas's help, and, unable to secure election, was driven into Opposition in Parliament.⁷ At East India House, Robarts generally took the same line as Dundas's City followers, Baring and Devaynes (qq.v.).⁸

At the time of his death, on 26 November 1816,⁹ Robarts was a banker of great wealth. He bequeathed an estate of some £125,000, besides legacies of £10,000 to each of his daughters.¹⁰ His family continued to be represented in the banking firm until 1860, when the business was amalgamated with Lubbock, Forster and Company.¹¹

1. G.M., vol. 86, pt. 2 (1816), p. 568; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1587, f. 636 (1816): Will of Abraham Robarts; D.N.B., vol. 19, p. 865. An Abraham Robarts, possibly Robarts's father, appears as a merchant in the Company records during the 1740's and 1750's (I.O.L., Ct. Bks., B/67, p. 452; B/73, p. 293).
2. Price, p. 119.
3. D.N.B., vol. 19, p. 865.
4. I.O.L., Stock Ledgers, L/AG/14/5/19, p. 741; L/AG/14/5/21, p. 740.
5. Maclean, pp. 232, 234.
6. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 532.
7. Philips (1), p. 7.
8. Philips (1), p. 62 and n. 1.
9. G.M., vol. 86, pt. 2 (1816), p. 568.
10. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1587, f. 636 (1816): Will of Abraham Robarts.
11. Price, p. 119.

ROBERTS, John (c.1739-1810)

of King's Arms Yard, Coleman Street, London.

Director of the East India Company 1764-67, 1769-72, 1775*-
76**-78, Novr. 1780-83,
1785-88, 1790-93, 1795-98,
1800-01*-02**-03*, 1805-08.

b., c. 1739, s. of Christopher Roberts, Merchant
of London, by his w., Jane. 1

Roberts was established as a merchant in King's Arms Yard with his partner, William Baynes, by 1759.² He was elected to the Company Direction in 1764 as a member of the 'Proprietors' list', and was again in opposition to Sullivan's party in April 1765.³ He was prevented from standing on the 'House list' in 1769 through his alleged infringement of Company regulations relating to trade with the East. He was accused of aiding Portuguese merchants trading to China, and forced to contest the election on the 'Proprietors' list'.⁴

There followed a short period in which Roberts seems to have acted with certain elements of the Sullivan following, if not with Sullivan himself. During the autumn of 1772, he came under fierce attack in the Press for the backing he gave to Sullivan and Colebrooke (qq.v.) in their choice of supervisors for the reform of government in India.⁵ He had, in common with a number of the men proposed by Sullivan and Colebrooke, interests in the West Indies, more particularly, in Granada.⁶ During 1773, when Sullivan was once again excluded from the Direction, Roberts was elected to a General Court committee set up to oppose attempts of the North Ministry to regulate Company affairs.⁷

Roberts's estrangement from Administration had ended by December 1773. In this month he was Lord North's candidate

in the Parliamentary by-election for the City seat vacated by Sir Robert Ladbroke. He was opposed by a follower of John Wilkes, alderman Frederick Bull, in a contest which the King was most anxious to win.⁸ Bull's lead proved unassailable, however. Roberts stood once more for the City with Ministerial backing in the general election of 1774, but with no more success, despite the renewed support of George the Third.⁹ It was a poor year for Roberts generally. Though nominated by North for the 'House list' in the Company's April election, he failed to recover his seat in the Directorate.¹⁰

North stood by his nominee, and the opposition forces' victory in 1774 proved ephemeral. Roberts was not only re-elected in the following year, but was also appointed deputy chairman. He was now heavily dependent on the Ministry for his position. A close associate wrote to Philip Francis, who was hoping for Roberts's patronage for a relative:

Two contested Elections for the City, & two for the India Direction had tied Mr. Roberts down by the strongest Promises to his most valuable friend to give his first Nomination to particular Persons, if he got into the Direction, including Lord North and Mr Robinson 11

Roberts was chosen chairman in 1776. His brother-in-law, and City partner, William Baynes, held a Government contract this year with the Company deputy chairman, William James (q.v.), to supply troops in America. When Baynes withdrew from the contract, Roberts took his place in 1779.¹² By this date he was felt to be acting 'in intimacy, in public and private matters' with John Robinson, North's secretary.¹³

During his chairmanship, the question of Hastings's recall

came before the directors. Initially he took a Ministerial line in objecting to the proprietors' rescension of the directors' decision to dismiss the governor-general.¹⁴ However, there is little evidence that he was personally antipathetic to Hastings.¹⁵ He told the King that the decision to recall Hastings had been taken on the grounds of expediency.¹⁶ When this failed he showed himself ready to consider less drastic, but more practicable, solutions. He lent an ear to Lauchlin Maclean's plan for a settlement, but warned him 'not to push matters to extremities'. When agreement seemed to have been reached over the terms of Hastings's projected resignation, Roberts professed himself satisfied. In defence of his former conduct, he told Maclean:

I have the utmost respect for his [Hastings's] abilities, esteem for his character, and opinion of his services. But my situation was critical and embarrassing. 17.

Despite being beset by severe financial difficulties in 1781, when he was 'obliged to give up everything he has to his Creditors',¹⁸ Roberts continued as a director. With the fall of the North Ministry, he seems generally to have followed the line taken by Baring (q.v.), leader of the City interest in the Directorate.¹⁹ He stood by this group in opposing Fox's India Bill.²⁰ Richard Atkinson (q.v.) felt that there was some hope of his serving the Pitt Government. He advised Dundas:

If there is no absolute old promise between him and Sullivan, he would be disposed to join me, in which Hunter [q.v.] would encourage him as against Sullivan. - He will certainly support the general Measures of Government. 21

Like other directors who began by supporting Pitt, he came to oppose the increasing arbitrariness of Dundas's actions

at the Board of Control. In August 1786 he protested at the Secret Committee's acting without consultation with the Court of Directors,²² and, in the following year, opposed the Government over the King's regiments.²³

He died on 5 February 1810.²⁴

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1. G.M., vol. 78, pt. 1 (1810), p. 187; B.P.B., p. 202; Cussans, vol. 3, pt. 2, p. 18.
 2. Kent's Directory ... (London, 1759), p. 95.
 3. L.M., vol. 33 (1764), p. 215; G.M., vol. 35 (1765), p. 145.
 4. Rockingham MSS., R1-1177: John Roberts to Lord Rockingham, 2 April 1769.
 5. Maclean, p. 310.
 6. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., C247/1: Two letters to Roberts from Andrew Richardson, endorsed: 'Granada 30 Sept. 1774' and 'Granada 24th Jany 1775'. For the West Indian interests of the proposed supervisors, c.f. Maclean, passim. Roberts was also the life-long friend of Robert Orme, who was involved in Lauchlin Maclean's West Indian ventures. For their correspondence, c.f. I.O.L., Orme MSS., O.V. 202, passim.
 7. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/258, p. 239.
 8. Copeland, vol. 2, p. 492; Donne, vol. 1, p. 153: George the Third to Lord North, 31 Octr. 1773.
 9. Donne, vol. 1, p. 208: George the Third to Lord North, 3 Octr. 1774 and 4 Octr. 1774.
 10. G.M., vol. 44 (1774), p. 187.
 11. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., E13A, pp. 481-482: John C. Roberts to Philip Francis, 15 Decr. 1775.
 12. Baker, pp. 28, 35.
 13. N.L.S., MS. 8326, f. 3^v: Genl. James Stuart to John Stables, 17 June 1776.
 14. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/92, pp. 200-204.
 15. Roberts later supported Hastings's actions in the Chait Singh affair (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/98, p. 437). He was also reputedly on bad terms with Hastings's leading opponent, Robert Gregory (q.v.) (N.L.S., MS. 8252, f. 15^v: Genl. James Stuart to Andrew Stuart, 1 Octr. 1776).
 16. Fortescue, vol. 3, p. 360: John Roberts to ?the King, 8 May 1776.
 17. Gleig, vol. 2, pp. 79-80, 84: Lauchlin Maclean to Warren Hastings, 10 Novr. 1776.

18. B.L., Add. MSS., 29150, f. 22^v: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 7 Augt. 1781.
19. Philips (1), p. 25, n. 4.
20. Sutherland (1), p. 378, n. 4.
21. Furber (1), p. 491: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 31 Jany. 1785. '
22. S.R.O., MS. GD/51/3/546¹, f. 211: John Motteux to Henry Dundas, 23 Augt. 1786.
23. Auber, p. 441.
24. G.M., vol. 78, pt. 1 (1810), p. 187. Roberts has been confused with John Roberts, M.P. for Taunton, who died in 1782, or with his namesake, M.P. for Harwich, who died in 1772, as is the case in Sutherland (1), p. 133, and Philips (1), p. 345.

ROOKE, Giles (c.1710-1790)

of New Buildings, Coleman Street, London and of Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey.

Director of the East India Company 1758-61, 1763-64.

b., c. 1710, s. of Giles Rooke, of Rumsey, Hampshire;
m. Frances, da. of Leonard Cripp, of Southampton;
2s. 1da.. 1

Rooke is listed in the London trade directories, during his membership of the Company Direction, as a merchant and insurer.² He may have had interests in common with the underwriter, John Rooke, also of Coleman Street, the 'good friend' of Richard Gildart (q.v.), with whose brother he participated in the insurance of the Company settlement at Fort Marlborough.³ John Rooke stood surety for Rooke's son, William, a Company writer, in 1763.⁴

Rooke was 'double-listed' before the election of 1758, and, though objecting initially to his inclusion in Sullivan's 'list', withdrew his protest soon after.⁵ He became one of Sullivan's most reliable supporters in the Direction, and, when

Sullivan's power in the Directorate was challenged in the elections of 1763 and 1764, stood on his 'list' on both occasions.⁶ Though Rooke does not seem to have been involved in stock 'splitting' activities, John Rooke's name is linked with that of Sullivan's 'jackal', Thomas Lane, in stock movements before and after the contest of April 1764.⁷ Rooke did not oppose Spencer's Bengal appointment,⁸ and, similarly, Sullivan's influence was employed to further the career prospects of Rooke's son in the Company's Bengal service.⁹ When the votes for and against Sullivan as chairman proved to be equal in April 1764, Rooke joined Sullivan and other close followers in withdrawing from the Court in protest.¹⁰

On leaving the Direction, he remained active in East India affairs as a proprietor,¹¹ and in the City as an 'eminent underwriter'.¹² Besides his financial concerns, family tradition records that he was 'the associate of literary men, and indulged himself in some very creditable translations of the classic poets'.¹³ He died in Coleman Street on 3 December 1790.¹⁴

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1. G.M., vol. 60, pt. 2 (1790), p. 1149; Edward Foss, The Judges of England ... (London, 1864), vol. 8, p. 364; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1199, f. 568 (1790): Will of Giles Rooke.
 2. Kent's Directory ... (London, 1759), p. 96.
 3. C.f. Richard Gildart (q.v.).
 4. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/79, p. 191.
 5. Sutherland (1), p. 71, n. 3.
 6. G.M., vol. 33 (1763), p. 199; L.M., vol. 33 (1764), p. 215.
 7. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/13, p. 578; L/AG/14/5/15, p. 736.
 8. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/79, p. 302.

9. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., E302/1, f. 21^v: John Spencer to Laurence Sullivan, 2 Decr. 1765.
 10. Sutherland (1), p. 130.
 11. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/259, p. 22.
 12. G.M., vol. 60, pt. 2 (1790), p. 1149.
 13. Foss, loc. cit..
 14. G.M., vol. 60, pt. 2 (1790), p. 1149.
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ROUS, Thomas (? -1771)

of Hackney, Middlesex.

Director of the East India Company 1745-48, 1750-53, 1754-58,
1760*-61*-62**, 1764**-66*-
67**.

b., ?, eld surv. s. of Thomas Rous, of Piercefield,
Monmouthshire, by Jane, da. of ____ Hoskins, of
Gloucestershire; m. Mary, da. of Thomas Bates, of
Northumberland; 4s. 3da.. 1

In the years prior to his entering the East India Direction Rous appears in the London directories at the same address as his uncle, Sir William Rous,² alderman, and Company director from 1733 to 1741, who was noted as a prominent tea buyer.³ Rous had shares in the ownership of Company shipping as early as 1742,⁴ and his support for Laurence Sullivan in the Direction during the early 'sixties may in part be attributable to common marine interests.⁵ Rous supported Sullivan during the Holwell controversy of 1757-58,⁶ and, on the latter's absence from the Direction in 1762, received his nomination as chairman.⁷

During this year negotiations got under way with the Government regarding the formulation of peace terms for presentation to the French. Though Rous has been regarded as

Sullivan's puppet, the two came to blows over the line to be taken with respect to French conquests in India, Rous preferring a tougher line than Sullivan and the Bute Ministry, who were more disposed to conciliation. Government pressure won the day.⁸ Clive reported:

At last poor Rous was sent for and after having been scolded and sworn at by Mr. Wood (Lord Egremont's Secretary) and then by his Lordship himself, the articles were consented to be altered as they now stand in the Preliminaries. 9

The process of Rous's alienation from Sullivan was concluded before the first terms were agreed upon. On the discovery that the wording of the treaty allowed the French to retain territories captured before the official start of the war in India in 1749, Rous was heavily censured for failing to amend the article, and his negligence was attacked by Sullivan.¹⁰ Ministerial pressure on Rous to accept the peace terms was taken up by sections in the City hostile to the Bute Administration, while at East India House Clive's influence was brought to bear at a General Court meeting, where Rous was cleared of all responsibility for the error.¹¹

The combined forces of Clive and Rous were not yet sufficient to threaten Sullivan's power in the Direction. However, though both were defeated in the election,¹² a growing number of dissident directors were joining Rous's party, and, in February of that year, Sullivan felt obliged to try to detach Rous's allies and win back his favour by promising to 'suffer him to continue in the Direction'.¹³ Success came in 1764, when, following close negotiations with George Grenville's managers,¹⁴ Clive's appointment to Bengal was carried, and Rous returned to the Direction, and chosen as chairman.¹⁵

Rous, dependent on the support of Clive's party, became one of his most faithful followers, but his shortcomings were recognised even by Clive, who felt that, though he was 'a very honest man', was 'the most unfit of all Men living to preside & govern a Court of Directors'.¹⁶ Rous's abject obedience to Clive's every dictate began to antagonise a number of directors, led by Colebrooke (q.v.), who also resented Rous's monopoly of power in the Directorate, and his unwillingness 'to yield any part of his power but to those from whom he could resume it at pleasure'.¹⁷ Unwilling to go along with Clive's campaign to discredit the Bengal government of Vansittart (q.v.), with whom Rous had 'always been in a state of hostility',¹⁸ and annoyed at Rous's pledging the support of the whole Direction for a continuation of Clive's jagir, without adequate consultation, Colebrooke's party was driven to challenge Rous's choice of Saunders (q.v.) as Company chairman.¹⁹

The General Court's decision in 1767 to withdraw the prosecutions against the Bengal councillors dismissed by Clive was indicative of Rous's declining power in the Company, and was 'nothing less than a blow in the face for Clive'.²⁰ On his return to England, Clive was driven to censure Rous and other followers for their 'unfitness', and wished to 'purge the Direction of them'.²¹ Following his year out of the Direction by rotation, Rous stood for re-election in 1769 on the 'House list', but was heavily defeated.²²

Rous was never a popular director. His principal motive for retaining control in the Direction was reputedly to ensure the provision of lucrative voyages for his sons, the Company commanders, Robert and Thomas Bates Rous (q.v.). He died in

Newman Street, London on 30 July 1771.²³

1. B.L.G. (1846 ed.), vol. 2, p. 1153.
 2. The Intelligencer: or, Merchants Assistant ... (London, 1738), p. 137; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/724, f. 89 (1743): Will of Sir William Rous.
 3. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/56, p. 463.
 4. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/67, pp. 169, 179.
 5. Hardy (1), pp. 28, 41. Sullivan's henchman, Thomas Lane, was husband for the Britannia Indiaman, which was commanded by Rous's son, Captain Thomas Bates Rous (q.v.).
 6. Sutherland (1), p. 66, n. 1. Holwell went so far as to name Rous as a member of the 'Bombay faction' (Holwell, p. 156).
 7. Sutherland (1), p. 90.
 8. Sutherland (1), pp. 96-98.
 9. Quoted in Sutherland (1), p. 98.
 10. Cyril H. Philips, 'Clive in the English political World, 1761-64', B.S.O.A.S., vol. 12 (1948), p. 699.
 11. Edward Weatherley (ed.), The Correspondence of John Wilkes and Charles Churchill (New York, 1954), p. 50: John Wilkes to Charles Churchill, 25 March [1763]; Sutherland (1), p. 10.
 12. L.M., vol. 32 (1763), p. 224.
 13. Quoted in Sutherland (1), p. 106, n. 3.
 14. Jucker, p. 273: Joseph Salvador to Charles Jenkinson, 16 March 1764.
 15. Sutherland (1), p. 130.
 16. I.O.L., Home Misc. Ser., 809, p. 94: Robert Clive to Joseph Forde, 25 Sept. 1765.
 17. Colebrooke, pt. 1, p. 154.
 18. Colebrooke, pt. 1, pp. 135-136.
 19. Colebrooke, pt. 1, p. 135.
 20. Davies, p. 452.
 21. Quoted in Sutherland (3), p. 463, n. 4.
 22. G.M., vol. 39 (1769), p. 211; L.M., vol. 38 (1769), p. 218.
 23. G.M., vol. 41 (1771), p. 378.
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ROUS, Thomas Bates (c.1739-1799)

of Berners Street, London and of More Park, Hertfordshire.
 Director of the East India Company 1773-74, 1776-79.

b., c. 1739, eld surv. s. of Thomas Rous (q.v.);
 m., 25 June 1769, Amelia Hunter; 1 illeg. s..

M.P. for Worcester 25 Novr. 1773-8 Feby. 1774; 1774-84.¹

Through the influence of his father in the East India Direction, and through Clive's patronage,² Rous rose to the command of the Britannia Indiaman in 1762.³ Between voyages he participated in Company politics, 'splitting' at least fourteen votes in support of his father during the election campaign of April 1765.⁴ Returning from the sea with a fortune after his father's death, he entered the Direction in April 1773, and was brought forward by Clive to contest the Parliamentary seat at Worcester, on the death of Crabb Boulton (q.v.). However, he was unseated for bribery, after laying out an estimated £10,000.⁵

In the following year, Rous brought his family's weight in Company circles to bear behind Clive and the Ministerial 'House list'.⁶ He retained interests in Company shipping, where his brother, Captain Robert Rous, had succeeded to the command of the Britannia.⁷ He had close links with leading directors through his brother, George Rous, a pamphleteer, whom the Court had employed in previous election contests.⁸ Rous was elected on the 'House list' in April 1774.⁹

Both he and George Rous, who entered Parliament in 1776,¹⁰ seem to have been involved with the creditors of the Raja of Tanjore, evidently through Captain Robert Rous, who had financial interests in Madras. George Rous has been seen as Governor George Pigot's agent in England,¹¹ and, in 1778,

wrote in the Press in defence of the Raja's rights as an independent ruler.¹²

In the matter of Hastings's recall in 1776, Rous was in favour, in accordance with the wishes of the Government party.¹³ However, by 1780, he had changed his position, and wished to be numbered among the governor-general's friends.¹⁴

The cost of four parliamentary election campaigns in ten years proved a severe strain on his resources. In 1782, he was still trying to recover from Clive's son money promised to defray the expenses of his last election.¹⁵ He was forced to pull down sections of his country house to raise money by the sale of materials.¹⁶ He died at More Park on 1 February 1799.¹⁷

1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 380.
2. G.M., vol. 69, pt. 1 (1799), p. 250.
3. I.O.L., Mar. Rec. Cat., p. 41.
4. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/15, pp. 743, 745.
5. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 380.
6. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, pp. 8-9.
7. Hardy (1), p. 52.
8. Colebrooke, pt. 1, p. 154.
9. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 9.
10. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 379.
11. Dé, p. 276.
12. 'The Restoration of the King of Tanjore considered. By G. Rous, Esq.', G.M., vol. 48 (1778), pp. 26-31.
13. B.L., Add. MSS., 29137, f. 204^v: Francis Sykes to Warren Hastings, 30 May 1776.
14. B.L., Add. MSS., 29145, f. 27: John Woodman to Warren Hastings, 16 Octr. 1780.
15. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., D546/8, f. 95: John Walsh to Lord Clive, 25 Feby. 1782.
16. Cussans, vol. 3, pt. 2, p. 129.
17. G.M., vol. 69, pt. 1 (1799), p. 171.

RUMBOLD, Sir Thomas (1736-1791)

of Woodhall, Hertfordshire.

Director of the East India Company 1772, 1775-Aug. 1777.

b., 15 Jany. 1736, 3rd. s. of William Rumbold, of the Company marine service, by Dorothy, da. of Richard Cheney, of Hackney; m. (1), 22 June 1756, Frances, da. of James Berriman, of Madras; 2s. 1da.; (2), 2 May 1772, Joanna, da. of Dr. Edmund Law, Bishop of Carlisle; 3s. 3da.; cr. Bt., 23 March 1779.

M.P. for New Shoreham 17 Decr. 1770-74; Shaftesbury 1774-25 April 1775; 1780-2 April 1781; Yarmouth, I. of W. 14 April 1781-84; Weymouth and Melcombe Regis 1784-90. 1

Governor of Madras 1777-80.

Rumbold joined the Company as a Madras writer in 1752. Transferring to the military service, he served under Clive at Plassey, but reverted to the Company's civil branch in subsequent years, and rose to the rank of councillor in Bengal in 1766.² He left India in 1769 with a substantial fortune, but his inability to remit the portion of this remaining in Bengal forced him to contemplate returning to the East almost immediately. It was felt that he had pretensions to the Bengal government in 1771,³ and in 1773 to the newly created office of governor-general, in which endeavour he was supported by Sir George Colebrooke.⁴

Rumbold had attached himself to Colebrooke while the latter was at the height of his power in the Company, contributed towards his speculative ventures,⁵ and lent him large sums of money during the financial crisis of 1772.⁶ Rumbold entered the Direction in this year, and co-operated with Sullivan and Colebrooke in 'splitting' large amounts of stock in preparation for the election of the following April. However, after Sullivan's defeat, and Colebrooke's bankruptcy,

Rumbold, who was becoming concerned at the investigations of the current Parliamentary Select Committee into the activities of Company servants, joined forces with Clive's party,⁷ and began to support the North Ministry in Parliament, which he had entered in 1770 for the corrupt and venal New Shoreham, and in the Company's General Court.⁸

When a vacancy arose in the Madras Government in 1775, Rumbold was proposed by North in preference to George Pigot, governor there at an earlier date, and now a follower of Rockingham, and who had been an opponent of Administration during the Regulating Act discussions.⁹ Rumbold was nominated accordingly by the directors, but Pigot took the matter to a General Court, where he succeeded in having the decision reversed in his favour.¹⁰ However, Rumbold continued to adhere to the Government, and was elected to the Direction in April 1775 with Ministerial support.¹¹ His Bengal background and ties proved the stronger influence on his conduct in May 1776, when the chairman, Harrison (q.v.), took up a position in favour of Hastings's recall. Lauchlin Maclean reported:

Just in this situation, Rumbold, who had hitherto kept his mind pretty much to himself, and who was suspected, from being so much in the power of the ministry, took up the cause where Harrison laid it down. In a longer speech than Harrison's he went over the same ground, recapitulating and praising him for his arguments, but expressing the utmost astonishment at its conclusion. 12

Despite this conduct, when news reached London of Pigot's overthrow, Rumbold was named by North as replacement,¹³ and gave assurances of his willingness to co-operate with the Government's nominees on the supreme council in Bengal.¹⁴

He arrived in Madras as governor in February 1778, and, though equipped with instructions of a 'sensible and moderate' nature by the Government to deal with the most salient problem in the presidency, the Nawab's debts,¹⁵ succeeded only in creating further dissensions in an already divided political situation, by the pursuit of his private interests. Robert Palk was told:

... he [Rumbold] is blind and deaf to every other consideration but that of establishing a strong interest at home ... I ... assure you that a King of France was never so absolute as he is here. Every thing he proposes is carried without the least opposition 16

Following the outbreak of hostilities with the French, the Company forces captured Pondicherry, for which Rumbold a baronetcy. He had less success with the local country powers, and, before leaving the Carnatic in 1780, embroiled the Company in a war with Haidar Ali, and with the Nizam of the Deccan. On arrival in England in January 1781, he found himself dismissed, and faced with a case in Chancery on the grounds of misconduct. Rumbold protested that of the £150,000 remitted during his two years in Madras, the bulk came from his Bengal interests.¹⁷ A Parliamentary enquiry into the causes of the war and his responsibility was eventually dropped through lack of concrete evidence.¹⁸

He died on 11 November 1791,¹⁹ one of the most notorious 'nabobs' of his time.

1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, pp. 381-382.

2. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 382.

3. Hist. MSS. Comm. Palk, p. 157: Robert Palk to William Martin Goodlad, 2 April 1771.

4. B.L., Add. MSS., 29133, f. 418: Francis Sykes to Warren Hastings, 30 Novr. 1773.
 5. Colebrooke, pt. 1, p. 219; pt. 2, p. 270, Appendix.
 6. B.L., Add. MSS., 29133, f. 418: Francis Sykes to Warren Hastings, 30 Novr. 1773.
 7. Sutherland (1), pp. 244-245.
 8. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 382.
 9. Olson, p. 166: Lord Richmond to Lord Rockingham, 17 Feby. 1775.
 10. Sutherland (1), p. 288.
 11. Sandwich MSS., F38/19: Thomas Rumbold to Lord Sandwich, 10 June 1775.
 12. Gleig, vol. 2, p. 64: Lauchlin Macleane to Warren Hastings, 25 June 1776.
 13. Sutherland (1), p. 321.
 14. Keith Feiling, Warren Hastings (London, 1966, 3rd. ed.), p. 184.
 15. Sutherland (1), p. 323.
 16. Hist. MSS. Comm. Palk, p. 329: Thomas Palk to Robert Palk, 30 Jany. 1780.
 17. Feiling, op. cit., p. 222.
 18. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 383.
 19. G.M., vol. 61, pt. 2 (1791), p. 1068.
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SAUNDERS, Thomas (c.1713-1775)

of Brill, Buckinghamshire.

Director of the East India Company 1757, 1765-67*.

b., c. 1713, s. of Thomas Saunders, naval officer,
of Brill, Buckinghamshire, by his w., Mrs. Hallet;
m. ?; 1s.. 1

Governor of Madras 1750-55.

Saunders was appointed writer in the Company service in 1731, and was posted to Sumatra.² He was soon able to leave this, one of the least popular Company settlements, and moved to Madras.³ Though his father's lack of capital threatened to restrict his private trading ventures, he benefited from his connection with the family of Thomas Hall, influential ship's husband, who was closely related to Saunders on his mother's side.⁴ He made rapid progress, and, by December 1749, was chief at Vizagapatam. In the following year he assumed control of the whole presidency, based at Fort St. David at this time, since Madras had fallen to the French.⁵

Saunders proved to be a governor of foresight and ability, bringing the war with France in the Carnatic to a successful conclusion. He was largely responsible for recognising, and using to their full advantage, the talents of Robert Clive, most notably in the famous defence of Arcot in 1751. The latter part of his government, however, was marred by a dispute with the military commander, Stringer Lawrence, over their respective areas of authority. On Saunders's departure the dissensions had spread to his council.⁶

He returned to England in 1755 for the sake of his health, but retained considerable financial stakes in the presidency.⁷ He was brought into the Company Direction by John Payne (q.v.)

in 1757 as a man of experience in the Company's Indian administration. However, his behaviour left much to be desired, and Payne was forced to turn to his Indian correspondents for the information he required. He told Orme:

You may possibly be surprised at such an inquiry having Mr. Sanders in the Direction. The Truth is we can get nothing from him on the Subject that is dear, he hath been at only four Courts in the whole year, lives in a most strange way, I think I might almost say despised by all the world. I believe no Man in Europe hath shown him half the Civilities I have done, & have been three months with out a message from him. 8

Unlike most of the directors of Indian background, he supported Payne during the Holwell controversy, and, as a consequence, was defeated in the election of April 1758.⁹

Saunders re-entered Company politics in April 1763 with Clive, his former colleague in Madras, and stood for election on the 'Proprietors' list'.¹⁰ He was defeated in this, and in the election of the subsequent year,¹¹ being unable to take a seat in the Directorate until 1765, when Sullivan was finally ousted. He continued to co-operate with Clive's followers in the Company, and was brought forward by Thomas Rous (q.v.) as his deputy in 1767, though Colebrooke (q.v.) felt he was unfit for the office 'from his want of knowledge to conduct a party, and, from a want of skill to debate in General Courts'.¹² To weaken Rous's power in the Direction it was determined to oppose any attempt to make Saunders chairman.

On his return from Bengal in 1767, Clive withdrew his backing from Saunders, on the grounds that he, and other supposed followers, had failed in their duties.¹³ Saunders, seemingly disturbed by the turn events had taken, did not

contest the 1768 election, and it was reported in India that he 'had resigned in a pet'.¹⁴

His Madras interests continued to occupy his attention, and he was appointed by the creditors of the Nawab as one of their London agents in 1769.¹⁵ In the months before his death he was active on behalf of George Pigot, with whose career he had long been associated,¹⁶ and whose candidacy for the Madras government he supported.¹⁷

He died on 16 October 1775, in Upper Brook Street, London.¹⁸

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1. B.S. Baliga, A Brief Sketch of the Character and Achievements of Thomas Saunders (Simla, 1939), p. 1; I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/62, p. 256; Victoria History of Buckinghamshire, vol. 4, p. 90; Elizabeth, Lady Verney (ed.) Verney Letters of the Eighteenth Century (Edinburgh, 1930), vol. 1, p. 289: Lady Fermanagh to Ralph Verney, 2 Novr. 1712.
 2. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/61, p. 457.
 3. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/62, p. 256.
 4. Gill, p. 120. Hall married Mary Hallet, sister of Captain John Hallet, Company commander. Members of this family stood surety for Saunders at the various stages of his career with the Company (I.O.L., Ct. Bks., B/65, p. 495; B/71, p. 454).
 5. Baliga, loc. cit..
 6. Love, vol. 2, p. 486: Robert Orme to John Payne, 26 Octr. 1755.
 7. Dodwell (1), p. 253; Saunders remitted large sums from Madras in the years immediately following his return (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/75, pp. 43, 61).
 8. I.O.L., Orme MSS., O.V. 28, p. 243: John Payne to Robert Orme, 18 Feby. 1758.
 9. Sutherland (1), p. 66, n. 1; I.O.L., Orme MSS., O.V. 293, p. 103: John Payne to Robert Orme, 30 Octr. 1758.
 10. L.M., vol. 32 (1763), p. 224.
 11. L.M., vol. 33 (1764), p. 215.
 12. Colebrooke, pt. 1, pp. 134-135.
 13. Sutherland (3), p. 463, n. 4: Robert Clive to Luke Scrafton, 2 Octr. 1767.

14. Hist. MSS. Comm. Palk, p. 83: Mrs. Jane Morse to Robert Palk, 9 Octr. 1768.
 15. Gurney, p. 102.
 16. Saunders had stood surety for Pigot in 1755 on the latter's appointment to the Madras government (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/73, p. 644).
 17. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/259, pp. 134-135.
 18. A.R. (1775), p. 214.
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SAVAGE, Henry (c.1713-1785)

of Bromley, Kent.

Director of the East India Company 1755-58, 1760-62, 1764-67,
1770-77, 1779-82.

b., c. 1713, prob. rel. of Rev. Culpepper
Savage, of Eastry, Kent; unm.. 1

Savage entered the Company's service in Bombay as a writer in 1731, at the same time as Thomas Lane and Charles Crommelin, later connections of the 'Bombay faction'.² Soon after his arrival in Bombay, he was posted to Persia,³ where he remained, and received the appointment of Company agent in the settlement there in 1747,⁴ being present 'at the triumphal entry of the tyrant Koeli Khan into Isphahan, faught with all the riches of the Mogul empire, which he had just conquered, amounting, as it was computed, to £30 millions sterling'.⁵ He returned to Bombay in September 1751 to assume a place in council.⁶ After being 'employed in several very critical and important trusts',⁷ one of which entailed undertaking, with Laurence Sullivan, a series of prolonged negotiations with local 'country powers',⁸ he left Bombay in December 1752.

In subsequent years he received sizable remittances from Bombay, and seems to have had interests in common with

Sullivan,⁹ whom he had accompanied home from India. As a Company director, and a recognised member of the 'Bombay faction', he supported Sullivan during the Holwell controversy,¹⁰ but, between this date and the Company election of April 1763, the two became estranged. A letter of Sullivan, written much later, may provide a clue, however obscure, to their separation. In it he referred to events following their return to England, when Savage and others 'by a contrary Conduct were despised and ill treated', while he, 'to their great mortification received distinguished marks of kindness'.¹¹ Savage stood on Clive's 'lists' in 1763 and 1764,¹² being elected on the second occasion. He opposed Sullivan's attempts to show favour to connections in India, objecting to the proposal that Robert Palk, governor of Madras, should receive commission on the presidency's revenues.¹³ His continuing ties with Clive's friends led to his election in 1769 on the 'House list'.¹⁴

Though elected on the Ministerial 'list' in April 1774, Savage did not take a Government line in the question of Hastings's recall. He had many Indian connections,¹⁵ important among whom was the Barwell family. Savage was representing Richard Barwell's interests at the time,¹⁶ and consequently voted against the dismissal motion which affected both Hastings and Barwell.¹⁷

Despite this temporary identity of interests with Sullivan, the two remained on bad terms,¹⁸ while his support for Hastings in 1776 did not prevent his opposing certain of the governor-general's policies. Hastings's agent informed him of Savage's attitude to the treatment of the raja, Chait

Singh:

Savage is not friendly to you. He always receives me most cordially, but he is an obstinate old Man & has adopted that useless Idea of Burke's that we were bound by a solemn Treaty to demand nothing from Cheyt Sing beyond his stipulated Tribute. 19

Though never occupying a chair, Savage spent eighteen years on the Committees of Treasury and Correspondence. He died at Bromley on 31 March 1785.²⁰

1. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/69, p. 495; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1129, f. 215 (1785): Will of Henry Savage.
2. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/61, pp. 458, 521. For Crommelin, c.f. George Dudley (q.v.).
3. I.O.L., Factory Records: Persia, G/29/15, vol. 2, p. 223.
4. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/69, p. 343.
5. G.M., vol. 55, pt. 1 (1785), p. 325.
6. I.O.L., Bombay Civil Servants, 1712-52, O/6/37, p. 154.
7. G.M., vol. 55, pt. 1 (1785), p. 325.
8. Sutherland (1), p. 62.
9. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/74, pp. 299, 535.
10. Holwell, p. 156.
11. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. hist., c269, p. 8: Laurence Sullivan to Stephen Sullivan, [1778].
12. L.M., vols. 32 (1763), p. 224; 33 (1764), p. 215.
13. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/80, p. 443.
14. L.M., vol. 38 (1769), p. 218.
15. Savage's obituary records: 'Those with whom he had been intimate abroad, were frequently pressing him to accept the guardianship of their sons; and he was seldom without one or more from different countries, whose education he superintended ...' (G.M., vol. 55, pt. 1 (1785), p. 325).
16. Barwell Letter-Book, B.P.P., vol. 15 (1917), p. 128: Richard Barwell to Henry Savage, 20 Sept. 1776.
17. Gleig, vol. 2, p. 65: Lauchlin Maclean to Warren Hastings, 25 June 1776.
18. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. hist., c269, p. 27: Laurence Sullivan to Stephen Sullivan, [1778].
19. B.L., Add. MSS., 29155, ff. 230-230^v: John Scott to Warren Hastings, 29 July 1782.
20. G.M., vol. 55, pt. 1 (1785), p. 325.

SCOTT, David (1746-1805)

of Dunninald, Forfarshire.

Director of the East India Company Decr. 1788-91, 1793-95*-96**, 1798-1800*-01**.

b., Jany./Feby. 1746, 5th. s. of Robert Scott, M.P., of Dunninald, by Ann, da. of Brig. Genl. John Middleton of Seton; educ. at school and univ. of St. Andrews; m. Louisa, wid. of Benjamin Jervis, and da. and coh. of William De Lagard; ls. 3da.. 1

M.P. for Forfarshire 1790-96; Perth Burghs 1796-1805.

Scott went out to Bombay as a 'free merchant' in 1763, and, by the date of his return, had built his firm into one of the foremost independent trading organisations in India, capable of financing the Company's government in Bombay, and providing cash for the purchase of its 'investment' in times of financial difficulty.² He left Bombay in 1786 to take over the London end of the business.

Scott stood for the Direction in 1788,³ but was defeated without Government support. It would seem to be to his candidacy that Dundas referred after the election:

... I refused this year to support on my Interest a very good Man who has proposed himself to me as a Candidate for the Direction. I told him fairly that, as Captain Elphinstone [q.v.] the last chosen was my Country man, I would not furnish the handle ... of raising any Clamour ... amongst the Proprietors of India Stock. 4

However, Scott was brought in later that year to fill a vacancy occasioned by the death of Michie (q.v.). He was soon on terms of confidence with Dundas who, in subsequent years, came to rely heavily on his knowledge of the Company's trade in the East.

By the election of April 1789, Scott was assuming much of the responsibility for ensuring Ministerial control of the Direction.⁵ He was soon active in commercial matters too,

putting forward a scheme to reduce the Company's 'Bombay debt' by employing his many independent mercantile connections.⁶ As a 'free merchant' with continuing commercial interests in India, he was opposed to monopolies, and, in his first letter to the directors while standing as a candidate hinted at his concept of the Company's 'exports being given up to the nation in general'.⁷ He was prominent in the movement to open the Company's existing shipping system to free tender, and was subsequently attacked by the 'old' shipping group, who accused him of using his directorship to benefit his private trading ventures.⁸

In the period after 1796 Scott assumed most of Dundas's India work, but ruined his health by over-exertion, and was forced to resign in April 1802.⁹ He died on 27 November 1805, having acted as adviser to three Presidents of the Board of Control.¹⁰ He was succeeded in the Direction by his son, David Scott, junior, who also took over the family business.

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1. B.P.B., p. 878.
 2. Philips (3), vol. 1, p. xi; Furber (2), pp. 210-211.
 3. G.M., vol. 58, pt. 1 (1788), p. 362.
 4. S.R.O., MS. GD/51/17/69, f. 4: Henry Dundas to Sir Archibald Campbell, 23 March 1787.
 5. S.R.O., MS. GD/51/3/15, ff. 39-40: David Scott to Henry Dundas, 9 April 1789.
 6. S.R.O., MS. GD/51/3/3, f. 35: David Scott to Henry Dundas, 23 Novr. 1787; S.R.O., MS. GD/51/3/8, ff. 17-18^v: David Scott to Henry Dundas, 21 May 1788.
 7. Quoted in Philips (3), vol. 1, p. xi.
 8. Philips (1), pp. 82-85.
 9. Philips (1), p. 119, n. 5.
 10. B.P.B., p. 878.

SCRAFTON, Luke (1732-?1770)

of Grosvenor Street, London.

Director of the East India Company 1765-68.

b., 1732, prob. s. of Luke Scrafton, of Norfolk Street, London. 1

Scrafton was appointed writer in the Company's Bengal service in March 1746.² He spent much of his Indian career at Dacca, until the fall of the settlement to the forces of Siraj-ud-daula in 1756.³ On Clive's arrival from Madras, Scrafton became closely involved in the intrigues preceding the battle of Plassey, and the setting up of Mir Ja'far as Nawab. He left Bengal in 1759 for Madras to recover his health,⁴ but seems to have proceeded to England.

In May 1764, with other connections of Clive, he helped to convene a meeting of the General Court to review the unsettled situation in Bengal, and to move that Clive be appointed governor.⁵ With Robert Gosling, Clive's banker, he became involved in stock 'splitting' before the April election,⁶ and with his father, and John Walsh, took over as Clive's attornies.⁷ Scrafton stood on the 'Proprietors' list',⁸ but, like Clive, was defeated. He was active again in 1764, creating votes for the party,⁹ though initially declining to stand for the Direction 'till calmer times'.¹⁰ However, he was named as a candidate in the 'House list',¹¹ mainly, it would seem, as a result of Walsh's persuasiveness,¹² and was elected.

Scrafton was entrusted with the 'direction of the Indian correspondence' by Rous (q.v.), 'in which course he favoured the views of his friend [Clive]'.¹³ Imbued with Clive's ideas on government in Bengal, he clung to the concept

of the 'dual system', and saw the 'necessity of keeping up the ancient form of Government under a Nabob as a veil to our actions, or else all Europe will take the alarm, & the Parliament will declare such power & processions incompatible for a Company'.¹⁴

Scrafton's views on recent events in Bengal appeared in print with the publication of his Reflections on the Government, etc. of Indostan¹⁵ He came into conflict with Henry Vansittart (q.v.), whose Narrative¹⁶ adverted to the state of disorder he had inherited in Bengal from Clive's first government. Scrafton defended Clive in his Observations on Mr. Vansittart's Narrative,¹⁷ but the dispute continued, becoming more vitriolic when Vansittart joined Sullivan's party in the 1766 election.¹⁸ Scrafton's literary abilities seem also to have been exploited by the directors later that year in the production of the East India Examiner, a publication designed to defend the directors against the attacks of those demanding increases in the Company dividend.¹⁹

He was prominent with Walsh in bringing before the General Court in 1767 the matter of Clive's jagir, and succeeded in procuring an extension of ten years.²⁰ When the scheme for a supervisory commission was proposed in 1769, he was chosen as a representative of Clive's party, with General Forde, to accompany Vansittart.²¹ Clive, however, had been disappointed with Scrafton's handling of the jagir affair,²² and was held largely responsible for encouraging a fall in stock prices which affected a number of Sullivan's circle seriously, but also threatened Scrafton, who, 'when

he left England was so deeply involved in India Stock, that his whole fortune and much more depended upon the rise'.²³

The Aurora, in which the commission sailed for India, was not heard of again after leaving the Cape.

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1. While Scrafton was in Bengal, Robert Orme corresponded with a Luke Scrafton, gentleman, of London (I.O.L., Orme MSS., O.V. 22, p. 96: Robert Orme to Luke Scrafton, 24 June 1757); there are references to Scrafton (q.v.) as Luke Scrafton, junior, in Hill, index.
 2. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/68, p. 474.
 3. Fort William-India House Correspondence, vol. 1, p. 531; Hill, p. 36.
 4. Fort William-India House Correspondence, vol. 2, pp. 227, 456; Hill, passim.
 5. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/256, p. 298.
 6. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/15, p. 759.
 7. Sutherland (1), p. 102.
 8. L.M., vol. 33 (1764), p. 215.
 9. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/15, p. 765.
 10. N.L.W., MS. 52, p. 127: Luke Scrafton to Robert Clive, 13 Feby. 1765.
 11. G.M., vol. 35 (1765), p. 145.
 12. I.O.L., Home Misc. Ser., 808, p. 232: John Walsh to Robert Clive, [1765].
 13. Colebrooke, pt. 1, p. 134.
 14. N.L.W., MS. 52, p. 153: Luke Scrafton to Robert Clive, 2 April 1766.
 15. Reflections on the Government, etc. of Indostan, with a short sketch of the History of Bengal, from the year 1739 to 1756, and an Account of the English Affairs to 1758 (London, 1762), 6 vols..
 16. Narrative of the Transactions in Bengal for the Years, 1760-1764 (London, 1766).
 17. Observations on Mr. Vansittart's Narrative (London, ?).
 18. N.L.W., MS. 52, p. 88: John Walsh to Robert Clive, 5 May 1766.
 19. Sutherland (1), p. 144.
 20. Sutherland (1), p. 156.
 21. Sutherland (1), p. 195.
 22. Malcolm, vol. 2, p. 205: Robert Clive to Luke Scrafton, 2 Octr. 1767.

23. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. hist., bl90, f. 3: Laurence Sullivan to Henry Vansittart, 24 Jany. 1770.

SEWARD, Richard (? -1764)

of St. Mary Hill, London.

Director of the East India Company 1759, 1761-63.

b., ?, poss. rel. of William Seward, treasurer of the South Sea Company, and of his brother, Benjamin, merchant of London, and proprietor of East India stock. 1

Seward's background is obscure, but the family name was not unknown in London's commercial circles during the eighteenth century. He first qualified as an East India proprietor in February 1753, and, after dealing in stock on a limited scale with a number of Jewish brokers,² entered the Direction in 1759. Seward seems to have been concerned with the career of the supercargo and China councillor, Francis Wood, for whom he was appointed attorney in 1761.³

He was 'double-listed' in April 1763,⁴ and may have had some connections with the Clive family as, in selling off his India stock, he transferred £500 worth to the Reverend William Maskelyne.⁵

He died on 31 March 1764.⁶

1. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/706, f. 708 (1740): Will of William Seward; I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/62, p. 14; G.M., vol. 8 (1738), p. 380; G.M., vol. 10 (1740), p. 571.

2. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/11, p. 634.

3. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/77, p. 59.

4. G.M., vol. 33 (1763), p. 199.

5. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/15, p. 780. Both Clive

and his agent, John Walsh, were related to the Maskelyne family.

6. Musgrave, vol. 5, p. 247.

SMITH, John

Vide SMITH-BURGES, Sir John

SMITH, Joshua (1732-1819)

of Erlestoke, nr. Devizes, Wiltshire.

Director of the East India Company 1771-72.

b., 1732, 1st. s. of John Smith, merchant of Lambeth, by Mary, da. of Griffin Ransome, of Lambeth, and bro. of Sir John Smith-Burges (q.v.); m., Augt. 1766, Sarah, da. of Nathaniel Gilbert, a judge and member of the legislative council, Antigua; 4 da., of whom the eld. m., in 1787, Charles, Lord Compton.

M.P. for Devizes 23 Decr. 1788-1818.¹

Smith, a ship-owner and timber merchant,² first qualified as an East India proprietor in 1767, and seems to have been supporting the current majority in the Direction, for which he 'split' four votes before the 1769 election.³ He did not stand for re-election in 1773, and was succeeded in the Directorate by his brother, with whom he may have had concerns in Company shipping.

He was still noted as a ship-owner when standing for Parliament in 1788, and, like his brother, was supporting Pitt.⁴ He died at Erlestoke on 20 March 1819.⁵

1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 448. His relationship with Smith-Burges (q.v.) is not noted here.

2. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 448.

3. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/17, p. 802.

4. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 448.

5. G.M., vol. 89, pt. 1 (1819), p. 378.

SMITH, Nathaniel (1730-1794)

of Ashstead, Surrey.

Director of the East India Company 1774-75, 1777-80, 1782*-
83***-84**-85*, 1787*-
88**-90.

b., 1730, posth. s. of Capt. Nathaniel Smith, of
St. Giles's, Cripplegate, London by Anne, da. of
James Gould; m., 4 Novr. 1764, Hester, da. of
George Dance, architect; ls..

M.P. for Pontefract 13 Feby.-11 April 1783; Rochester 1784-
90, 7 March 1792-6 May 1794. 1

Smith commanded the Clinton Indiaman on two voyages to
the East between 1759 and 1764, and, in the following year,
assumed command of the Lord Camden,² while enjoying the
patronage of Camden himself.³ He left the sea in 1771,
apparently with a fortune, and stood for the Company Direction
in 1774 on the 'House list' with two other new candidates,
Freeman and Moffatt (q.v.), also of a marine background,⁴
and with the latter of whom Smith had enjoyed connections for
some years.⁵

In subsequent years he produced a number of pamphlets on
shipping matters, and on the Company's administration in
India, as seen from his voyages to the East.⁶ In Company
politics he claimed to take an independent line, asserting in
1771:

My situation has preserved me from all Indian
connexions. 7

However, he contested the Parliamentary seat at Rochester in
1772 with Opposition support, and, though defeated, took an
Opposition line on questions at East India House.⁸ In
February 1775 he spoke out strongly in favour of George
Pigot, the Rockingham choice for the Madras government, claiming
that Pigot's 'Conduct thro' the Wars and various Distresses
he had to struggle with ... [would] remain a lasting Monument

of his deserved Reputation and very great Experience in the political Interests of the Carnatic';⁹ and when news of Pigot's overthrow reached England, was outspoken against the perpetrators of the revolution,¹⁰ and, in later years, against their re-instatement with the Company.¹¹

Smith was a virulent opponent of Hastings's government, in which line he was thought to be representing Camden's views.¹² With Robert Gregory (q.v.), he entered a minute in April 1776 deploring the mildness of the directors' despatch to Bengal, in light of incontrovertible evidence, supplied by Philip Francis, of Hastings's and Barwell's misconduct.¹³ He went on to support a motion for Hastings's dismissal in May, but, following the General Court's reversal of this, and the publication of the names of those directors who had opposed Hastings, he incurred the enmity of the proprietors. Lauchlin Maclean reported to Hastings:

It is hard to say whether ... Roberts, Gregory [qq.v.] or N. Smith, are fallen lowest in the estimation of the public. 14

By April 1780 Smith's position had altered, and he was elected as one of Sullivan's party.¹⁵ He also received a recommendation from Sullivan to Hastings for one of his protégés.¹⁶ In 1782 he was considered as spokesman at East India House for Lord Shelburne, in whose Administration Camden was Lord Chancellor, and seems to have been consulted by Shelburne about the Indian clauses of the peace treaty at the end of the American War.¹⁷ He proceeded to play an important part in the defeat of Fox's India Bill, for which he received the proprietors' thanks,¹⁸ and replaced Fox's follower, Fletcher (q.v.), as chairman in

November 1783.

Smith entered Parliament in 1784 as a supporter of Pitt, and, at East India House, enjoyed Ministerial support until his retirement, despite widespread recognition of his shortcomings as chairman. Richard Atkinson (q.v.) felt that there was 'a perfect certainty of his misconceiving every subject when first offered to his understanding',¹⁹ while Sullivan regarded him as 'an honest but a very stupid Man'.²⁰ His allegiance to the Pitt Administration was ensured by the continuance of his close relations with Lord Camden, Pitt's Lord Chancellor, who was described in 1788 as Smith's 'steady friend', while Smith, for his part, would 'go any length to serve that Nobleman'.²¹

He died on 6 May 1794.²²

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1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 448; G.M., vol. 34 (1764), p. 198.
 2. I.O.L., Mar. Rec. Cat., pp. 39-40, 44.
 3. I.O.L., Home Misc. Ser., 808, pp. 265-266: John Walsh to Robert Clive, 13 Decr. 1765.
 4. Fortescue, vol. 3, p. 92: Lord North to the King, 14 April 1774.
 5. Moffatt's brother, Andrew, had been an owner charter-party for the Lord Camden in 1766 (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/81, p. 308), while another family member, John Moffatt, had provided Smith with £1500 East India stock in February 1773 (I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/19, p. 799).
 6. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 448.
 7. Quoted in Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 448.
 8. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 448.
 9. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/90, p. 446.
 10. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 448.
 11. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/96, pp. 479, 627.
 12. Gleig, vol. 2, p. 68: Lauchlin Maclean to Warren Hastings, 25 June 1776.
 13. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/91, pp. 570-573.

14. Gleig, vol. 2, pp. 59, 68: Lauchlin Maclean to Warren Hastings, 25 June 1776.
 15. B.L., Add. MSS., 29145, f. 326: John Woodhouse to Warren Hastings, 1 Augt. 1780.
 16. B.L., Add. MSS., 29145, f. 89: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 12 May 1780.
 17. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, pp. 322, 448-449.
 18. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/260, p. 302.
 19. Quoted in Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 449.
 20. B.L., Add. MSS., 29162, f. 291: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 1 March 1784.
 21. Sandwich MSS., F40/38: ? to Lord Sandwich, 12 June 1788.
 22. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 449.
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SMITH, Richard ?(c.1700-1782)

of Islington, London.

Director of the East India Company 1759-62, 1764.

b., ?c. 1700, poss. s. of Rev. Richard Smith,
Rector of Islington; ?m., 16 April 1767, —
Towers, of Pater Noster Row, London. 1

Smith is listed as a merchant of College Hill, London, by 1755 in the trade directories.² His dealings in India stock at the time of the 1763 election, which included transactions with Thomas Lane and Nathaniel Modigliani,³ who were both acting with Sullivan, indicate that he was supporting Sullivan's party. In April 1764 he was elected on the 'House list', but, like Sullivan, only narrowly missed defeat.⁴ When the votes for and against Sullivan as chairman were found to be equal, Sullivan took it as a sign of no confidence, and withdrew, accompanied by Smith and other of his 'closest followers'.⁵ In succeeding months he stood by Sullivan, in the matters of Spencer's Bengal appointment, and the

establishment of Clive's select committee.⁶ In the former case, while most of Sullivan's friends in the Direction refused to vote on the motion that Spencer should leave Bengal and return to Bombay, Smith used his vote to oppose the proposal.

Though confusion between Smith and his namesake, General Richard Smith, notorious 'nabob', and prominent East India proprietor,⁷ is inevitable, it is clear that Smith continued to support Sullivan in subsequent election campaigns. He stood on Sullivan's 'lists' from 1765 to 1769,⁸ but, on the last occasion, did not return to the Direction with his leader, coming highest in the list of defeated candidates. In these years there are indications that he, with other members of his family, was acting with certain of the speculative elements in alliance with Sullivan, and had dealings with Sir Elijah Impey and J.D. Fatio, both involved in the movement for an increased dividend.⁹

It would seem correct to identify him with the 'Mr. Smith' who died in Islington on 19 December 1782.¹⁰

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1. G.M., vol. 52 (1782), p. 600; Al. Camb., pt. 1, vol. 4, p. 107; G.M., vol. 37 (1767), p. 279; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1086, f. 47 (1772): Will of Rev. Richard Smith.
 2. A Complete Guide ... (London, 1755), p. 154.
 3. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/13, p. 632. The Rev. Richard Smith and Benjamin Smith, both of College Hill at this time, took out stock qualifications from Smith in February 1763.
 4. L.M., vol. 33 (1764), p. 215.
 5. Sutherland (1), p. 130.
 6. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/80, pp. 25, 82.
 7. For General Richard Smith's career, c.f. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, pp. 449-451.

8. G.M., vol. 35 (1765), p. 145; P.A., 7 April 1766; L.M., vols. 36 (1767), p. 200; 37 (1768), p. 226; G.M., vol. 39 (1769), p. 211.
 9. I.O.L., Stock Ledgers, L/AG/14/5/15, p. 801; L/AG/14/5/17, p. 792. For Impey, c.f. Michael Impey (q.v.), and for Fatio, c.f. Richard Bosanquet (q.v.).
 10. G.M., vol. 52 (1782), p. 600. Smith's stock dealings indicate that he died about this time (I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/21, p. 797).
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SMITH, Samuel (1755-1793)

of Cherington, Gloucestershire and of Putney Hall, Surrey.

Director of the East India Company 1783-June 1786.

b., 19 March 1755, 1st. s. of Samuel Smith, of Aldermanbury, London by Elizabeth, da. of Thomas Watson, of Lothbury; m., 28 Novr. 1777, Mary, da. and coh. of Thomas Lockyer, East India merchant, of London; 1s. 3da..

M.P. for Ilchester 1780-84; Worcester 1784-90; Ludgershall 28 April 1791-15 June 1793. 1

Treasurer of the Levant Company 1790.

Smith's father, founder of the banking firm of Samuel Smith and son, had begun as a silk merchant. Smith, too, had a number of Eastern concerns, being listed as a Turkey merchant,² and, when an East India director in 1784, represented the interests of the Company's tea buyers.³ As a proprietor in June 1782 he supported the Hastings party,⁴ and seconded George Johnstone's (q.v.) motion that any attempt by Parliament to remove Hastings would constitute a threat to the Company's independence.⁵ He was elected to the General Court committee set up to 'watch over the Rights of the Company, and maintain their Privileges'.⁶ Smith seems to have had personal links with the family of Laurence Sullivan, with whom he was connected in the movement to defend

Hastings. With his father, Smith stood surety for Sullivan's relative, Richard Joseph Sullivan in 1780,⁷ and later took an interest in his career with the Company.⁸

He entered the Direction in 1783 as a follower of Sullivan,⁹ and was an outspoken opponent of Fox's India Bill.¹⁰ However, though prepared to support the Pitt Administration in Parliament, he resented the growing power of the Board of Control, and resigned in June 1786 as a protest against 'the daily encroachments of the board on the directors' powers'.¹¹ In Parliament he continued to defend the Company, and Warren Hastings, against the accusations of Edmund Burke and Philip Francis.¹²

He died on 15 June 1793.¹³

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1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 451.
 2. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 451.
 3. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/100, p. 534.
 4. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/260, p. 209.
 5. B.L., Add. MSS., 29154, f. 354: John Scott to Warren Hastings, 21 June 1782.
 6. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/260, p. 225.
 7. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/98, p. 432.
 8. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/98, pp. 348, 367.
 9. B.L., Add. MSS., 29159, f. 22: John Scott to Warren Hastings, 10 April 1783.
 10. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 451.
 11. Quoted in Philips (1), p. 50, n. 2.
 12. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 451.
 13. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 451.
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SMITH-BURGES, Sir John (c.1734-1803)

of Havering Bower, Thorpe Hall and of Eastham, Essex.

Director of the East India Company 1773-74, 1776-79, 1781-84, 1786-89, 1791*-92*-94, 1796-99, 1801-d. 1803.

b., c. 1734, s. of John Smith, merchant of Lambeth, by Mary, da. of Griffin Ransome, of Lambeth, and bro. of Joshua Smith (q.v.); m., 1771, Margaret (who m. (2), 23 July 1816, John, 4th. Earl Poul-ett), o. da. and h. of Ynyr Burges, of Eastham and Thorpe Hall, Essex; d.s.p.; cr. Ct., 4 May 1793; assumed name of Burges, 10 June 1790. 1

Smith commanded the Drake Indiaman in 1762, and the Hampshire from 1765 to 1771.² He had powerful connections in the shipping world through Charles Raymond, husband for the Hampshire,³ while his brother, Joshua Smith (q.v.), was a ship-owner. He resigned his command in February 1771, having made his fortune, and married in the same year the only daughter of Ynyr Burges, an influential proprietor.⁴ Burges bought property in Ulster which would descend to his daughter, while Smith himself spent large sums purchasing land in county Tyrone in July 1771.⁵

Smith's interests continued to lie in Company shipping during his time as a director, as is shown by his constant membership of the Shipping Committee. In matters of Company politics, his position is harder to gauge. However, he seems early to have taken a line hostile to Government. A John Smith was elected to the General Court committee set up in March 1773 to combat North's proposed India legislation.⁶ With Sullivan and members of the Company opposition, he called for a ballot on the question of General Clavering's appointment to the new Bengal supreme council.⁷ He continued to support this group when Hastings's commission as commander-in-chief was attacked.⁸ Sullivan, who was acting at this time

with Raymond, supported Smith and other shipping magnates in the question of compensation for commanders deprived of voyages by recent regulations reducing the number of ships employed annually by the Company.⁹

Before the 1774 election, Smith was 'double-listed'. He was one of two 'opponent Directors' adopted by the Ministry, probably as a gesture to Raymond.¹⁰ Smith was once again acting with the Company opposition in May 1776, when he opposed Hastings's recall.¹¹

His position had altered by December 1783, when he had transferred his allegiance to the Fox-North Ministry. He was named as one of Fox's assistant commissioners, and there were already signs of his moving away from the Hastings camp in January 1782. He objected to the delay in despatching orders to relieve Sir Elijah Impey of his position as judge of the Bengal native court at this time.¹² Not unexpectedly, he complained of the way in which Pitt's proposed India legislation was rushed through the Direction, without adequate provision for discussion.¹³

Some difficulty arises in defining Smith's stance under the Pitt Administration as a result of confusion in the past over his identity.¹⁴ His improving relations with the Government seem to have stemmed, not from his membership of the 'East Indian' party, but rather from his affiliations to the shipping interest in the Direction. The shipping members were now in alliance with the City group, and supported Dundas until the late 1780's. Smith abstained from the directors' petition against Dundas's high-handed action with regard to the King's regiments.¹⁵ In later years he became

one of Dundas's steadiest supporters,¹⁶ despite the alienation of the shipping interest. He died on 24 April 1803.¹⁷

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1. G.E.C., vol. 5, p. 285; Ynyr A. Burges, 'Burgesaga' A History of the Burges Family of Parkenaur 1684-1955 (priv. print., n.d.), pp. 15, 19; Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 448; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1394, f. 510 (1803): Will of Sir John Smith-Burges.
 2. Burges, op. cit., pp. 24-25; Hardy (2), vol. 1, pp. 22, 37.
 3. Hardy (2), vol. 1, pp. 22, 37.
 4. At Burges's death in 1792, it was stated in the Public Advertiser that he had exercised 'so extensive an influence in the Company's appointments, both at home and abroad, so as to acquire him the name of the 25th Director ...' (Quoted in Burges, op. cit., p. 22).
 5. Burges, op. cit., pp. 19, 21.
 6. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/258, p. 141.
 7. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/259, p. 27.
 8. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/259, p. 49.
 9. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/259, p. 84.
 10. E.U.L., MSS. Photo 1697, correspondence 1766-74: Henry Strachey to Robert Clive, 29 March 1774 (postscript dated, 1 April 1774).
 11. Gleig, vol. 2, p. 65: Lauchlin Maclean to Warren Hastings, 25 June 1776.
 12. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/97, p. 565.
 13. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/99, p. 774.
 14. Smith is said to have been a former Company servant in Madras, a member of the 'Arcot' interest, and an M.P. (Philips (1), pp. 41 and n. 1, p. 341). He is confused presumably with John Smith, M.P. and Company solicitor.
 15. Auber, p. 440.
 16. Philips (1), p. 71. It was said that by 'procuring the chair for Sir John Burges, he [Dundas] got all his patronage, and finding him so compliant, from being a Foxite, he offered to get him elected a second time' (Colebrooke, pt. 2, p. 267).
 17. G.E.C., vol. 5, p. 285.
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SNELL, William (c.1720-1789)

of Clapham, Surrey and of Walthamstow, Essex.

Director of the East India Company 1762-64, 1767-69.

b., c. 1720, o. s. of William Snell, gent., of Lawrence Pountney Hill, London, by his w., Cecilia; m., 11 Feby. 1766, Elizabeth (who m. (1) Joseph Brooksbank, of Hexlaugh Manor, Yorkshire), da. of Benjamin Bond, merchant of London; d.s.p. 1

Director of the Bank of England 1770-72, 1773-75, 1776-78, 1779-82, 1783-86, 1787-89.

Snell's father was an attorney of Lawrence Pountney Hill, and it would seem that Snell followed the same profession.² He entered the Direction at a time when Sullivan's power was paramount, and, though 'double-listed' in the 1763 election,³ was chosen on Sullivan's 'list' in the following year.⁴ He supported Sullivan in the matter of Spencer's Bengal appointment, and was hostile to the extraordinary powers proposed for Clive's select committee.⁵

Snell was a member of the defeated 'Proprietors' list' in 1765 and in 1766,⁶ but seems to have carried sufficient weight with the proprietors to ensure his being 'double-listed' in the years from 1767 to 1769, so enabling his re-election.⁷ He sat on none of the important committees while a director, and his stock transactions indicate no involvement in the 'splitting' activities of the time.⁸ His main interests, certainly in later years, were in banking. He sold off the last of his India stock in April 1770,⁹ and entered the Direction of the Bank of England in the same year. His will refers to connections with other Bank directors, such as John Harrison (q.v.),¹⁰ while the business interests of his wife's family lay in the Turkey trade.¹¹

Snell died at Clapham on 19 January 1789, possessed of considerable property in Clerkenwall and in Islington.¹²

1. G.M., vols. 80, pt. 2 (1810), p. 660; 36 (1766), p. 103; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1175, f. 58 (1789): Will of William Snell; Snell Genealogical Collections (typed notes in the possession of the Society of Genealogists), pp. 185-90.
 2. The Intelligencer: or, Merchants Assistant ... (London, 1738), p. 141; Kent's Directory... (London, 1759), p. 106.
 3. G.M., vol. 33 (1763), p. 199.
 4. L.M., vol. 33 (1764), p. 215.
 5. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/80, pp. 25, 82.
 6. G.M., vol. 35 (1765), p. 195; P.A., 7 April 1766.
 7. L.M., vol. 36 (1767), p. 200; 37 (1768), p. 226; 38 (1769), p. 218.
 8. I.O.L., Stock Ledgers, L/AG/14/5/13, p. 618; L/AG/14/5/15, p. 781; L/AG/14/5/17, p. 779.
 9. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/19, p. 778.
 10. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1175, f. 58 (1789): Will of William Snell.
 11. Benjamin Bond, and his son of the same name, were both Turkey merchants (G.M., vol. 64, pt. 1 (1794), p. 275).
 12. G.M., vols. 59, pt. 1 (1789), p. 90; 80, pt. 2 (1810), p. 660.
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SPARKES, Joseph (? -1790)

of Blackheath, Bromley in Kent.

Director of the East India Company 1773-74, 1776-79, 1781-84, 1786-89.

m., 22 Augt. 1765, Mary Cator, of Bromley;
4s. 2da.. 1

Sparkes's background remains obscure,² though he may have been connected with Richard Sparkes, a timber merchant during the 1730's,³ while Sparkes's brother, Thomas, seems to have been a merchant and distiller in Aldergate Street, London.⁴ He qualified for the Direction in March 1765,⁵ and, standing on Sullivan's 'list', was defeated, coming lowest in the list of unsuccessful candidates.⁶ He does not re-appear in Company elections until April 1773, when he stood for the Direction, again with Sullivan, on the 'House list',⁷ against the combined weight of the North Ministry and Clive's party. Though Sullivan was himself defeated, Sparkes narrowly secured election. In the following year, he stood on the 'Proprietors' list',⁸ and, on his election, was counted as a gain for the Company opposition.⁹

Sparkes proved hostile to attempts to dismiss Hastings and Barwell in May 1776.¹⁰ He was on good terms with the Barwell family, and, in succeeding years, was involved with his brother-in-law, Joseph Cator, in trying to secure repayment of Sir George Colebrooke's debts to Richard Barwell.¹¹

By 1783 Sparkes was regarded as favourable to Fox,¹² and was one of six directors in January 1784 complaining that the terms of Pitt's proposed India legislation had been rushed through the Direction with inadequate time for discussion.¹³ Though he had been united with Sullivan at an

earlier date in opposition to the North Ministry, relations between the two seem not to have been close.¹⁴ Once again, however, Sparkes was prepared to set aside his differences, and to support Sullivan in April 1784, since both were hostile to Pitt.¹⁵

Sparkes has been regarded as an 'independent', well-disposed to Dundas, in subsequent years.¹⁶ However, he showed himself unwilling to tolerate the growing interference of the Board of Control in India affairs. In 1786 he objected to certain decisions taken by the Secret Committee which Dundas dominated, in areas in which it had no authority.¹⁷

He died at Blackheath on 6 February 1790.¹⁸

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1. G.M., vol. 35 (1765), p. 395; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1190, f. 155 (1790): Will of Joseph Sparkes.
 2. Kent's Directory ... (London, 1778), p. 158. Listed here are two men with the name of Joseph Sparkes, the former, a linen draper, and the second, with whom Sparkes seems to be identifiable, a merchant.
 3. A Complete Guide to all Persons ... (London, 1714), p. 133.
 4. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1190, f. 155 (1790): Will of Joseph Sparkes; Kent's Directory ... (London, 1795), p. 173.
 5. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/15, p. 765.
 6. G.M., vol. 35 (1765), p. 195.
 7. P.A., 6 April 1773.
 8. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 17.
 9. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., C7/A, p. 107: John Campbell to Philip Francis, 19 April 1774.
 10. Gleig, vol. 2, p. 65: Lauchlin Maclean to Warren Hastings, 25 June 1776.
 11. Barwell Letter-Book, B.P.P., vol. 17 (1918), p. 241: Richard Barwell to William Bensley, 28 June 1777; p. 295: Richard Barwell to Joseph Sparkes, 28 May 1778.
 12. Sutherland (1), p. 378, n. 4.
 13. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/99, p. 774.

14. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. hist., bl91, f. 27: Laurence Sullivan to Stephen Sullivan, [1778].
15. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. hist., bl90, f. 34: Laurence Sullivan to ?, 10 Novr. 1784.
16. Philips (1), p. 62, n. 3.
17. S.R.O., MS. GD/51/354b¹, f. 211: John Motteux to Henry Dundas, 23 Augt. 1786.
18. G.M., vol. 60, pt. 1 (1790), p. 184.

STABLES, John (c.1744-1795)

of Wonham, near Reigate, Surrey.

Director of the East India Company 1774-76, 1778-Octr. 1781.

b., c. 1744, in Westmoreland, rel. of John Robinson, sec. to the Treasury, 1770-82; m., Jany. 1773, Dorothy Papley, of Red Lion Square, London; 2s. 4da.. 1

Member of the Supreme Council 1782-87.

Stables joined the Company's military establishment in Madras as an ensign in 1760. He saw extensive service during the hostilities in Bengal in the early 'sixties, and fought, as a captain, at the Battle of Buxar in October 1763.² He returned to England in 1766 with commendations from the Bengal council.³

Through the influence of his relative, John Robinson, he became a member of the Ministerial circle in the General Court, and, in February 1774, helped plan the strategy to be adopted to carry General Clavering's appointment as commander-in-chief in India.⁴ He was brought forward by North's political managers as a candidate on the 'House list' in April,⁵ but, though elected, attracted few votes.

His continuing connections with Bengal, particularly with Richard Barwell,⁶ led to an embarrassing situation in

May 1776, when the Ministry supported the dismissal of Hastings and Barwell. Stables resolved the dilemma temporarily by not attending the Court meeting when the vote was taken.⁷ However, once the proprietors had revoked the decision to recall, Stables spoke out in support of the governor-general.⁸ When the question of Hastings's continuance in Bengal was broached again in 1781, Stables, 'to the entire disapproval of several of his Friends', voted in his favour.⁹

Despite Stables's tergiversations, Robinson continued to act in his interests. Following the dismissal of Rumbold (q.v.), he was said to have harboured pretensions to the Madras government.¹⁰ When this fell through, Robinson promoted his candidacy for a vacancy in the supreme council in 1781, calling on the Ministers with whom he was most familiar, notably Lord Sandwich,¹¹ to help swing the appointment, though Stables's suitability for the office was doubted,¹² and the choice was questionable, given Stables's lack of experience in the Company's civil administration.¹³ His appointment received support from Hastings's followers in the Direction, who were confident that he would continue to hold a favourable attitude to the governor-general on assuming his place in council.¹⁴

However, by October 1783, Stables had become hostile to Hastings, principally, it was believed, from apprehensions that he might be included in the attacks on the governor-general's policies.¹⁵ Returning to England, he purchased Wonham House from Lord Romney in 1793, where he died on 31 January 1795.¹⁶

1. Hodson, vol. 4, pp. 161-162; Charles Ross (ed.), Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis (London, 1859), p. 249, n. 1; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1256, f. 121 (1795); Will of John Stables.
 2. Hodson, vol. 4, pp. 161-162.
 3. Fort William-India House Correspondence, vol. 4, p. 371.
 4. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., D18, p. 149: paper endorsed: '1.st Feby 1774. M.^r Robinson meeting at his House'.
 5. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 9.
 6. Barwell Letter-Book, B.P.P., vol. 15 (1917), pp. 112-113: Richard Barwell to John Stables, 24 July 1776.
 7. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., E13/A, p. 640: Philip Francis to Henry Strachey, 21 Augt. 1776.
 8. Gleig, vol. 2, p. 70: Lauchlin Maclean to Warren Hastings, 25 June 1776 (postscript dated, 10 Augt. 1776).
 9. B.L., Add. MSS., 29152, f. 302: Francis Sykes to Warren Hastings, 4 Jany. 1782.
 10. Love, vol. 3, p. 219.
 11. Hist. MSS. Comm. Abergavenny, p. 43: Lord Sandwich to John Robinson, 30 Augt. 1781.
 12. Sir George Colebrooke (q.v.) regarded him as 'a man of very mean abilities' (Colebrooke, pt. 1, pp. 141-142, n. 1).
 13. Reports from Committees of the House of Commons. Reprinted by Order of the House. Vol. vi. East Indies. 1783. Ninth Report, p. 50.
 14. B.L., Add. MSS., 29150, f. 144: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 21 Augt. 1781.
 15. Gleig, vol. 3, pp. 121-122: Warren Hastings to John Scott, 15 Octr. 1783.
 16. G.M., vol. 65, pt. 1 (1795), pp. 171, 252.
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STEEVENS, George (1701-1763)

of Poplar, Middlesex.

Director of the East India Company 1758-60, 1762-63.

b., March 1701, prob. rel. of Thomas Steevens, East India ship-owner, and bro. of William Steevens, East India commander; m., by 1736, Mary Perryman; ls., George, playwright and editor of Shakespeare. 1

Director of the London Assurance Company 1750-55.

Elder Brother of Trinity House 1744-63.

Steevens is said to have been a commander in the Company's marine service,² though he does not appear as such in the Company records.³ Members of his family seem to have been prominent in Company shipping circles from at least as early as the beginning of the century, a Thomas Steaven (sic Steevens) appearing as a ship-owner in 1712.⁴

After leaving the sea, Steevens occupied a 'substantial residence at Poplar',⁵ and enjoyed influential connections in the City: in shipping circles through his selection for the much sought-after office of Elder Brother at Trinity House; and in the financial world through his interests in the London Assurance Company,⁶ and associations with prominent City merchants.⁷ He was involved in the ownership of East India shipping as early as 1747, when he was named as owner charter-party for the Delawar Indiaman, commanded by his brother, William.⁸ He remained part-owner of the ship for a number of years, and, in 1754, with the husband, Charles Raymond, represented this, and other vessels, in negotiations with the Company directors over freight charges.⁹

He stood for the Company Direction in 1758 on the 'House list', and protested publicly when included in the rival 'Proprietors' list',¹⁰ and like his City associate,

Sir Alexander Grant, spoke out against the attempts of Sullivan's party in the General Court to defeat the directors' plan for a system of rotation in the Bengal government.¹¹ However, in subsequent years, relations between Steevens and Sullivan seem to have improved, perhaps as a result of Sullivan's ascendancy with the shipping bloc at this time. Steevens was re-elected in April 1763 as a member of Sullivan's 'list'.¹²

He died on 14 June 1763, leaving extensive property in the Poplar and Blackwall areas of London to his wife and son.¹³

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1. Chaplin Abstracts, 225/1; D.N.B., vol. 18, p. 1031; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/889, f. 308 (1763): Will of George Steevens.
 2. D.N.B., vol. 18, p. 1031; Foster, p. 184.
 3. There is no doubt, however, that Steevens had been to sea, as he is referred to as a 'mariner' in 1736, at the christening of his son (D.N.B., vol. 18, p. 1031).
 4. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/52, p. 185.
 5. D.N.B., vol. 18, p. 1031.
 6. Steevens was a share-holder from 1741 (Guildhall, MS. 8743B, London Assurance Stock-Ledger, vol. 4, p. 857).
 7. Sir Alexander Grant, Bt., army contractor and wealthy West Indian merchant, stood surety for Steevens's relative, Walton Steevens, a 'free merchant', in 1755 (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/73, p. 535).
 8. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/69, p. 357.
 9. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/73, p. 73.
 10. Sutherland (1), p. 71, n. 3.
 11. Holwell, p. 160.
 12. G.M., vol. 33 (1763), p. 199.
 13. G.M., vol. 33 (1763), p. 314. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/889, f. 308 (1763): Will of George Steevens.
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STEPHENSON, John (c.1709-1794)

of Brentford, Middlesex.

Director of the East India Company 1765-68.

b., c. 1709, prob. rel. of Sir William Stephenson,
Lord Mayor of London, 1764; m. ____.

M.P. for Mitchell 22 April 1754-24 March 1755, 1761-80;
Tregony 1780-84, 1790-17 April 1794; Plympton Erle 1784-
90. 1

Stephenson's career prior to 1749, when he appears as a merchant of London,² is obscure, though there is some possibility of his having been in the East.³ By 1753 he was being described as a 'very considerable Spanish and Portuguese merchant'.⁴

His political affiliations were to Lord Sandwich, through whom he offered himself as a candidate to Grenville's managers for the Direction and for the Company chair in March 1764.⁵ However, he was not taken up until the following year, when he was brought in with Robert Jones (q.v.), on the grounds that both were 'true & trusty friends to Lord Sandwich'.⁶ Stephenson had had an earlier connection with Clive, when both sat in Parliament for Mitchell in 1754.⁷ As a director he supported Clive's party until standing down in 1768.

In 1774 he succeeded to Jones's contracts for victualling troops in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland,⁸ and hence his support could be depended upon by the Government in Parliament and in the Company. He voted with the Ministerial party in the General Court,⁹ and remained one of Sandwich's most reliable followers.¹⁰

He died on 17 April 1794 at his house in Bedford Square, London.¹¹

1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 476; G.M., vol. 37 (1767), p. 144.
 2. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 476.
 3. A John Stephenson was listed as a supercargo in Madras between 1726 and 1733 (I.O.L., European Inhabitants: Madras, O/5/29, passim). Elsewhere he is noted as a former member of the Company's Bombay service (Philips (1), p. 346).
 4. Quoted in Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 476.
 5. Jucker, p. 273: Joseph Salvador to Charles Jenkinson, 16 March 1764.
 6. I.O.L., Home Misc. Ser., 808, p. 32: John Walsh to Robert Clive, [5 April 1765].
 7. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 476.
 8. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 476.
 9. E.g. I.O.L., Genl Ct. Mins., B/259, pp. 130-131.
 10. Sandwich MSS., F41/125: John Robinson to Lord Sandwich, 25 Octr. 1779.
 11. G.M., vol. 64, pt. 1 (1794), p. 388.
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SULIVAN, Laurence (c.1713-1786)

of Ponsbourne Park, Hertfordshire.

Director of the East India Company 1755-57*-58**, 1760**-61**,
1763*-64, 1769, 1771-72*,
1778-80*-81**, 1783-d. 1786.

b., c. 1713, in Ireland, of the family of Sullivan,
or O'Sullivan, of co. Cork; m., 20 Augt. 1739, in
Bombay, Elizabeth, rel. of Edward Owen, Company
servant; 2 surv. s.. 1

M.P. for Taunton 24 March 1762-68; Ashburton 1768-74.

Sullivan, whose background remains obscure, seems to have made his own way to India without a Company position. At Bombay he was patronised successively by Governors John Horne and Stephen Law (q.v.), being appointed factor with the Company in 1740. He rose to council status, before leaving India in 1753 with a moderate fortune,² claiming later that he had 'never received even a Present whilst in India ... to the value of £20 from any Person he could Favour'.³

In England he maintained contacts with old Bombay connections, particularly with Stephen Law, now a director, and who, it seems, helped bring him into the Direction, and round whom the 'Bombay faction' was growing. Sullivan's 'Bombay' party was able to make a bid for power in 1758, when, in the first contested election of the period, it defeated the traditional interests in the Direction, led by John Payne (q.v.). So began a period of five years in which Sullivan completely dominated the Company and its administration, carrying it through the troubles of the Seven Years War, employing his personal fortune to rescue it from financial collapse,⁴ and ensuring the appointment of his nominees to the Direction, and to the governments of the Company's Indian settlements.

By 1763, however, he had alienated elements in the Direction, which found a leader in the previously pliable Thomas Rous (q.v.), who now united with Robert Clive in an attempt to oust Sullivan from power.⁵ Sullivan survived their onslaught in the election of 1763, when large amounts of stock were 'split'. However, the desertion of former allies in the City, and in the Company, weakened his position, and, having failed to secure the Company chair in April 1764, was defeated outright in the following year.

He was now driven to building a party among the proprietors to topple the new majority in the Direction. During the mid-1760's he recruited to his standard various groups in the General Court including speculators eager for increases in the dividend, and those forming round returning Company servants, many of whom were from Bengal, and had been dismissed by Clive. Sullivan and prominent allies, such as Vansittart (q.v.), and the 'backstairs' politician, Lauchlin Macleane, launched a massive 'splitting' campaign before the 1769 election, gathering in £100,000 stock for the purpose. Though the party made a number of gains in the Direction, he himself recovering his seat, a fall in stock prices before the borrowed stock could be returned led to great financial losses. Macleane and Vansittart were obliged to seek Indian appointments with the Company to recover their fortunes, and even Sullivan, though now an old man, was believed to be a candidate for the Madras government in the early 1770's.⁶

His renewed position at the head of the Company proved ephemeral. He had complained in September 1769 that 'to me all are ill-disposed'.⁷ He began moves towards a

reconciliation with Lord North, but a combination of his enemies prevented his return in 1770, and he had to wait until the following April for North's support to let him slip in.

A friend reported before the election:

For once there is to be no contest at the next election. Sullivan comes in singly with the consent of all parties. I should have thought, after all that is passed and in such times as these, he had better have relinquished so troublesome and, to him, so very unprofitable an employ. However, it is to him the summum bonum 8

In 1773 Sullivan's entente with the Ministry once more broke down, when he refused to admit certain Government nominees to the 'House list', and he was defeated in the election.⁹ Despite the continued support of old allies, like the ship's husband, Charles Raymond, increased Ministerial control saw to his exclusion from the Direction. His alliance with various interests in the Company opposing the Government over the Regulating Act, and then in the 1774 election, proved no more successful.¹⁰ As leader of the Hastings party, he was again opposed to the wishes of Administration, so rendering remote any chance of a reconciliation with the Ministry, which might have come off in 1775, when North seemed willing to admit him to the Direction as a much-needed director of experience and ability. However, North eventually dropped the scheme lest he estrange valuable Parliamentary supporters, who were hostile to Sullivan.¹¹ Sullivan's opportunity arose in 1778, when Lord Sandwich's unpopular protégé, John Pardoe (q.v.), stood for election. Sullivan was able to defeat him in a straight fight 'against every Effort of Government and Direction and with so high an hand as a majority of 148 Votes above M^r Pardoe, the Chairs Wombwell & James [qq.v.].' ¹²

Turning his back on a number of allies in 1780, Sullivan again effected an alliance with the Ministry, settling with North 'upon the most Liberal grounds, and we are likely to be Supported, so long as our actions may meet Publick approbation, and no longer ...'.¹³ His continuing good relations with North secured Government support in the election of April 1783, despite attempts by partisans of Fox's wing of the Coalition to exclude him.¹⁴ He joined the Company opposition to Fox's India Bill, and, in the process, allied with the party forming round the emerging William Pitt. However, after their united success in overthrowing Fox, Pitt and Dundas proved unwilling to support Sullivan for the Company chair, despite the exhortations of Richard Atkinson (q.v.), who recognised Sullivan as the strongest single leader in the Direction.¹⁵ However, when re-elected in 1785, Sullivan was in his ~~eighty~~^{seventy}-second year, and Ministers could confidently expect his retirement in the near future.

He died in February 1786.¹⁶

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1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 508; I.O.L., Bombay Ecclesiastical Returns, N/3/1, pt. 1, p. 114.
 2. Sutherland (1), pp. 59-62.
 3. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/76, pp. 362-363.
 4. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. hist., c472, ff. 4-4^v: Laurence Sullivan to Stephen Sullivan, 27 Feby. 1778.
 5. For Sullivan's conflict with Rous, c.f. Thomas Rous (q.v.)
 6. Hist. MSS. Comm. Palk, p. 186: Robert Palk to William Martin Goodlad, 7 April 1772.
 7. Quoted in Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 510.
 8. Hist. MSS. Comm. Palk, p. 157: Robert Palk to William Martin Goodlad, 2 April 1771.
 9. B.L., Add. MSS., 29133, f. 534^v: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 28 April 1773.

10. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/259, p. 27; I.O.L., MSS. Eur., C7/A, p. 107: John Campbell to Philip Francis, 19 April 1774.
 11. B.L., Add. MSS., 29136, f. 171: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 14 April 1775.
 12. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. hist., c270, p. 17: Laurence Sullivan to Stephen Sullivan, 13 April 1778.
 13. B.L., Add. MSS., 29145, f. 18: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 14 April 1780.
 14. Gleig, vol. 2, pp. 517-518: Samuel Pechell to Warren Hastings, 23 March 1783.
 15. Philips (1), pp. 28-29.
 16. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 510.
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TATEM, George (c.1721-1807)

of Bloomsbury, Middlesex.

Director of the East India Company 1772-74, 1775-79, 1781-84, July 1786-87, 1788-90.

b., c. 1721, poss. rel. of Samuel Tatem, merchant, of Mark Lane, London; unm.. 1

His Majesty's Consul for Malta and Messina 1752-c. 1770.²

Tatem was in England by July 1770, when, after eighteen years in Sicily, he proved unwilling to return 'because of some powerful enemies he ... [had] raised there, whose interest it was necessary for him to oppose in the discharge of his duty as Consul ... [and] however unjustly he may have incurred the displeasure of some persons there, it would ... [have been] highly imprudent for him to run the risk of the personal resentment of those who ... [had] taken offence at his behaviour'. Tatem's mercantile concerns had suffered as a consequence, and he sought compensation from the Ministry.³ He was on good terms with Lord Rochford, one of the secretaries of state, with whom he had dealt as consul, and who now supported his case, and tried to secure Government help for the recovery of debts owed him in Sicily.⁴ By May 1776 he held a Government contract.⁵

He was thus elected to the East India Direction as a Ministerial nominee, and supported the North Administration during the debates in the General Court preceding the introduction of the Regulating Act.⁶ In succeeding months, Buring Ministerial attempts to force through General Clavering's appointment as commander-in-chief of the Company forces in India, Tatem kept in close touch with Rochford, thereby providing the Ministry with the latest developments at East India House.⁷ Despite attempts by Edmund Burke to have Tatem's

name removed from the list of candidates to be supported in the election of April 1774 by Charles Raymond,⁸ Tatem was retained in preference to Burke's nominee,⁹ and elected safely. During the remaining years of the North Administration, he voted with the Ministerial party in favour of Hastings's recall,¹⁰ and against the restoration of George Pigot to the Madras government before an official enquiry had considered the situation.¹¹

Tatem may have continued to follow North when the latter formed his coalition with Fox in 1783. He was named as one of Fox's assistant commissioners, and, on the defeat of the India Bill, objected to the arbitrary manner in which Pitt's proposed India legislation was hurried through the Direction.¹² He was named in the directors' 'House list' for April 1786,¹³ but was defeated,¹⁴ on one of the rare occasions during the period of Dundas's supremacy when a candidate, John Travers (q.v.), was successful on his own interest. Tatem, however, was re-elected in July with Dundas's help, and, though considered as an independent in his remaining years as a director, was generally well-disposed to Administration.¹⁵

He died at Edmonton, Middlesex, on 25 June 1807.¹⁶

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1. G.M., vol. 77, pt. 2 (1807), p. 780; Kent's Directory ... (London, 1736), p. 43; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1466, f. 705 (1807): Will of George Tatem.
 2. From information provided by R.R. Mellor, Esq., of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London.
 3. Richard A. Roberts (ed.), Calendar of Home Office Papers of the Reign of George III. 1770-1772, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office (London, 1881), p. 54: Lord Weymouth to the Lords of the Treasury, 26 July 1770.
 4. Tatem had been involved since 1759 in legal actions against Don Giovanni Moncado, Prince of Monforti, over money borrowed by the Prince, and not repaid (B.L., Add. MSS., 24159, ff. 200-201: Lord Rochford to Lord

Grantham, 17 Decr. 1773).

5. B.L., Add. MSS., 29137, f. 204^v: Francis Sykes to Warren Hastings, 30 May 1776.
 6. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/258, p. 214.
 7. Fortescue, vol. 3, p. 53: Lord Rochford to the King, 25 Jany. 1774.
 8. Rockingham MSS., R1-1484: [Edmund Burke to Lord Rockingham, 1774].
 9. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 9.
 10. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/92, pp. 200-204.
 11. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/93, p. 27.
 12. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/99, p. 774.
 13. P.A., 10 April 1786.
 14. G.M., vol. 56, pt. 1 (1786), p. 350.
 15. Philips (1), pp. 53, 62 and n. 1.
 16. G.M., vol. 77, pt. 2 (1807), p. 780.
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THORNTON, Robert (1759-1826)

of Clapham, Surrey.

Director of the East India Company Decr. 1787-April 1788,
1790-93, 1795-98, 1800-03,
1805-08, 1810-13**-April
1814.

b., 9 Jany. 1759, 2nd. s. of John Thornton, merchant of Clapham, by Lucy, da. and h. of Samuel Watson, of Hull; m., 12 Septr. 1786, Maria, da. of Charles Eyre, of Clapham; d.s.p..

M.P. for Bridgwater 21 July 1785-90; Colchester 1790-March 1817. 1

Son of one of the country's foremost Baltic merchants, Thornton, like his brothers, Samuel and Henry, who were also M.P.'s, was a City merchant, and founder-member of the 'Clapham Sect', with his relative, William Wilberforce.² He was a City supporter of Pitt, and had unsuccessfully contested Ipswich in the Parliamentary elections of 1784, when he received Treasury support.³ On the death of George

Cuming (q.v.), Thornton was elected to the Company Direction with Dundas's support,⁴ and was soon called upon to defend the Government over the question of the King's regiments, both in the General Court,⁵ and in the Commons, where he claimed that 'no corporation of private citizens could assume the government of a country, and he contended for the rightful prerogative of the Crown'.⁶

He remained one of Pitt's most consistent supporters, and died on 16 March 1826.⁷

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1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 525. Thornton's father was a cousin of William Thornton-Astell (q.v.).
 2. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 525. William Wilberforce (q.v.) was the uncle of Wilberforce, the philanthropist, and the cousin of William Thornton-Astell (q.v.).
 3. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 525.
 4. Philips (1), p. 53.
 5. G.M., vol. 58, pt. 1 (1788), p. 169.
 6. Quoted in Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 525.
 7. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 525.
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THORNTON, William

Vide THORNTON-ASTELL, William

THORNTON-ASTELL, William (1734-1801)

of Clapham, Surrey.

Director of the East India Company 1759, 1761-64.

b., 27 Jany. 1734, eld. s. and h. of Godfrey Thornton, merchant of London, by Margaret, da. of William Astell, director of the South Sea Company; m., 11 July 1758, his cos., Elizabeth, da. of Robert Thornton, director of the Bank of England; assumed name of Astell, 21 Feby. 1777; d.s.p... 1

Director of the Sun Fire Office 1765-1800.

Thornton's family originated in Hull, where they retained many connections, and where members of the family were prominent in the Baltic trade. His father and uncle, Robert Thornton, whose daughter he married, became directors of the Bank of England, while his brothers rose to importance in the City's financial and commercial world.² Thornton had established himself as a merchant in Aldermanbury by 1758, when he first qualified for the East India Direction.³

He would seem to be identifiable with the William Thornton who participated in Bute's profitable loan of 1763, and who, with the other financiers involved, incurred considerable notoriety in the City as Bute's 'creatures, and the tools of his power'.⁴ In this light Thornton's subsequent standpoint in Company politics can be more easily understood. He was 'double-listed' in the election of April 1763,⁵ but, by the following year, had become one of the steadiest supporters of Sullivan, Bute's ally in the Company. Thornton was re-elected in 1764 on Sullivan's 'House list',⁶ and, as one of his closest followers, accompanied him when he left the Court on not being chosen chairman with a clear majority.⁷ In subsequent months he took a more active stand than other Sullivan adherents in opposing attempts to deprive John Spencer of the Bengal government,⁸ and objected to the

special powers proposed for Clive's select committee for Bengal.⁹

Like other members of his family, Thornton had interests in banking, in the firm of Pole, Thornton and Company, and, in 1765, entered the Direction of the Sun Fire Office, where his partner, Charles Pole, M.P., merchant and insurer, already sat.¹⁰

He died on 6 April 1801 at Clapham.¹¹

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1. Cussans, vol. 2, pp. 14-15; B.L.G., vol. 2, p. 22. Some difficulty exists in identifying Thornton positively as result of the prevalence of his Christian name among members of his family. The identification provided here would seem to agree with the bulk of the evidence.
 2. E.g. John Thornton, City merchant, and Godfrey Thornton, director of the Bank of England.
 3. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/12, p. 704.
 4. Quoted from the North Briton in George Nobbe, The North Briton: A Study in political Propaganda (New York, 1939), p. 191.
 5. G.M., vol. 33 (1763), p. 199.
 6. L.M., vol. 33 (1764), p. 215.
 7. Sutherland (1), p. 130.
 8. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/80, p. 25.
 9. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/80, p. 82.
 10. Dickson, p. 277.
 11. G.M., vol. 71, pt. 1 (1801), p. 379.
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TOWNSON, John (c.1725-1797)

of Gray's Inn, London.

Director of the East India Company March 1781-83, 1785-88,
1790-93, 1795-d. 1797.

b., c. 1725, s. of Rev. John Townson, Rector of
Much Lees, Essex, by Lucretia, da. of Rev.
Edward Wiltshire, Rector of Kirkandrews,
Cumberland.

M.P. for Milborne Port 1780-Jan. 1787.¹

Townson, a Portugal merchant,² became actively involved in Company affairs in 1766 through his association with Lord Verney,³ an intimate of Lauchlin Macleane, and deeply concerned in the plans of speculators at East India House to restore Sullivan to power, and so bring about an increase in dividend. With fellow members of the group, he called for a General Court in November 1766 to present terms for the charter agreement with the Government, incorporating such a rise,⁴ and had been 'splitting' stock to help carry the proposal in a vote.⁵ He went on to contest the Company election of 1767 on the 'Proprietors' list',⁶ but was defeated.

Townson continued to vote with the friends of Macleane and Sullivan in the General Court, and, in September 1769, opposed the 'amended' supervisory commission, drawn up by the directors, which omitted nominees of Sullivan and Colebrooke (q.v.).⁷ When Macleane eventually obtained an Indian appointment in December 1773, Townson, who had helped one of Macleane's henchmen to resolve his financial difficulties in 1771, following the collapse of the 'Great Scheme',⁸ took charge of his English affairs.⁹ About this time he was involved in other speculative schemes: with Charles James Fox in a project aimed at exploiting copper seams near Lake Superior, in Canada;¹⁰ and in West Indian ventures of Macleane's syndicate

from which he withdrew as a result of the financial crisis of 1772 in the London money market.¹¹ He stood once again for the Direction in 1774 on the anti-Ministerial 'Proprietors' list',¹² but with no more success than before.

By 1780 Townson had formed a connection with Lord Sandwich, and was elected to Parliament with Government support.¹³ In March 1781 he replaced Becher (q.v.) in the Company Directorate, being able to retain his allegiance to Sullivan, who was co-operating with the North Ministry at this time. Townson took advantage of the information at his disposal as a director to contract with the Government to supply salt petre at a lower price than that charged by the Company, which had a long standing agreement with the Government for the supply of this commodity. He was condemned for his conduct by a motion in the General Court, but, with Ministerial support, was cleared.¹⁴

He voted against the directors' move to recall Hastings in October 1782,¹⁵ and opposed Fox's India Bill in the Commons,¹⁶ and in the General Court.¹⁷ Richard Atkinson (q.v.) described him in 1785 as the 'Slave and favorite of Sullivan. With very middling parts, and a character about which a variety of opinions are held'.¹⁸ However, after Sullivan's death, Townson seems to have become a reliable Ministry supporter, voting with Pitt in Parliament,¹⁹ and refusing to oppose Dundas over the King's regiments.²⁰

He died on 3 March 1797.²¹

1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 556.
 2. Sutherland (2), p. 138, Appendix 3.
 3. Maclean, p. 182.
 4. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/257, p. 15.
 5. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/15, p. 866.
 6. L.M., vol. 36 (1767), p. 200.
 7. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/257, pp. 317-318.
 8. Maclean, p. 291.
 9. Sutherland (3), p. 484.
 10. Maclean, p. 124, n..
 11. Maclean, pp. 313-314.
 12. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 17.
 13. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 557.
 14. Sandwich MSS., F39/54: John Townson to Lord Sandwich,
23 Feby. 1782; Lewis, vol. 29, p. 191, n. 2.
 15. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/98, p. 538.
 16. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 557.
 17. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/260, p. 226.
 18. Furber (1), p. 491: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas,
31 Jany. 1785.
 19. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 557.
 20. Auber, p. 440.
 21. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 557.
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TRAVERS, John (1736-1809)

of Bedford Place, Russell Square, London.

Director of the East India Company 1786-89, 1791-94, 1796-99, 1801-04, 1806-d. 1809.

b., 7 Novr. 1736, 2nd. s. of Capt. Peter Travers, of Plymouth, by Elizabeth Benouard (or Berouad); m., 24 June 1766, Catherine, da. of Thomas Thomas, director of the Bank of England; 1s. 3da.. 1

Elder Brother of Trinity House 1775-1809.

Travers's grandfather, a Huguenot refugee from St. Just in France, had been naturalised in 1707, and Travers preserved his connection with the Huguenot community by becoming a director of the French Hospital in London. He is said to have been an East India commander,² but this cannot be proven. It seems more likely that he commanded a ship in the Portugal trade, being described at the time of his marriage as 'in the Lisbon trade'.³ By the early 1770's he had left the sea, and had established himself as a broker in Cornhill.⁴

His transactions in India stock during these years point to his having connections with the City supporters of the North Ministry, more specifically with followers of Lord Sandwich, such as George Wombwell.⁵ He was on good terms with Sandwich's protégé, Sir William James (q.v.), who had supported his candidacy for Trinity House.⁶ Sir George Macartney wrote to Sandwich in 1780 of Travers:

I find Sir W.^m James is his friend & speaks highly of his Zeal & activity in everything where your Lordships wishes are concerned. 7

Travers first stood for the India Direction in April 1785, as an independent, but without success.⁸ However, in the following year, again on his own interest, but now with

the support of another independent, John Manship (q.v.), he defeated the directors' candidate, George Tatem (q.v.).⁹

Travers's background would point to his supporting the shipping interest in the Company, but he seems generally to have taken an independent line,¹⁰ and opposed Dundas over the King's regiments.¹¹

Travers had hopes of filling the office of Deputy Master at Trinity House in 1786, but his violent nature, which led to a duel with the successful candidate, made him generally unpopular.¹² He died on 25 September 1809.¹³

1. Henry Wagner, 'Huguenot Refugee Family of Travers', Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica, 5th. Series, vol. 2 (1916-17), pp. 196-197.

2. Wagner, loc. cit...

3. G.M., vol. 36 (1766), p. 294.

4. The New Complete Guide ... (London, 1772), p. 279.

5. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/21, pp. 840-841.

6. Sandwich MSS., F37b/15: Sir William James to Lord Sandwich, 1775.

7. Sandwich MSS., F39/32: Sir George Macartney to Lord Sandwich, 21 Decr. 1780.

8. P.A., 11 April 1785; G.M., vol. 55, pt. 2 (1785), p. 317.

9. P.A., 10 and 12 April 1786.

10. Philips (1), p. 62, n. 3.

11. Auber, p. 441.

12. Sandwich MSS., F37b/19: Charles Middleton to Lord Sandwich, 21 Decr. 1786: 'I am very happy in the Idea that this turbulent Man has received such a mortification ...'; F37b/21: 'Cap. Rose's Narrative of what pass's between him & Cap^t Travers ...'.

13. Wagner, loc. cit...

TULLIE, Timothy (? -1765)

of Queen Square, London.

Director of the East India Company 1750-53, 1755-58, 1760-63.

b., ?, ?1st. s. of Timothy Tullie, and nephew of
Ven. Thomas Tullie, Dean of Carlisle; m., 12 Feby.
1728, in Madras, Eleanor, da. of Capt. William
How, of Madras; 1s. 4da. surv.. 1

Tullie had gone out to India by 1718, when he appears in a list of 'seafaringmen' in the Madras records.² He already had one brother, George Tullie, in the Company service there,³ and another, Philip, was appointed in 1721.⁴ Tullie commanded a number of ships in the country trade between Madras and China,⁵ before settling in Madras by the mid-1730's, apparently as a 'free merchant'.⁶ He returned to England in 1745.⁷

He had close ties with the important ship's husband, Thomas Hall, whom he had known in Madras,⁸ and who handled the London end of Tullie's dealings in the diamond trade from India.⁹ Other financial interests in Madras included money out on loan, which, in 1755, he was still trying to recover.¹⁰

Tullie was on good terms with Sullivan, whom he named as executor in his will of 1758,¹¹ and whom he supported in the Direction during the Holwell controversy, being listed as a member of the 'Bombay faction'.¹² He went on to play a prominent part in the campaign to deprive Holwell of the Bengal government.¹³ Tullie was also associated with certain of Sullivan's City connections, like Edmund Godfrey, brother of the Company director,¹⁴ and Aaron Franks, the Jewish financier.¹⁵ Like Sullivan, Tullie had Bombay connections to serve also.¹⁶

He was re-elected to the Direction in April 1763 with Sullivan on the 'House list',¹⁷ and did not oppose Spencer's Bengal appointment.¹⁸ In the last election campaign in which he participated, in April 1765, he stood once more with Sullivan, and shared in his defeat.¹⁹

He died on 1 August 1765.²⁰

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1. Wagner Abstracts, Tu.1, Tullie family notes; I.O.L., Madras Ecclesiastical Returns, 1698-1783, N/2/1, vol. 1, p. 212; I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/59, p. 155; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/911, f. 311 (1765): Will of Timothy Tullie. It must be noted, however, that in the Wagner notes Tullie is confused with his father.
 2. I.O.L., European Inhabitants: Madras, 1702-80, O/5/29, p. 17.
 3. Love, vol. 1, p. 216; I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/51, p. 644.
 4. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/56, p. 233.
 5. Gill, pp. 120-121.
 6. He is listed as a 'constant inhabitant' in Madras in 1736 I.O.L., European Inhabitants: Madras, 1702-80, O/5/29, p. 35).
 7. Dodwell (1), p. 11.
 8. Hall, who had spent some time in Madras, was made godfather of one of Tullie's daughters (Gill, p. 121, n. 4).
 9. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/66, p. 124.
 10. Dodwell (1), pp. 61-62, 82-83.
 11. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/911, f. 311 (1765): Will of Timothy Tullie.
 12. Sutherland (1), p. 66, n. 1; Holwell, p. 156.
 13. Holwell, p. 167.
 14. Edmund Godfrey, Company supercargo, and, in this period, a ship's husband, had business connections with members of Sullivan's Bombay circle, such as Governor John Horne (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/71, p. 306), and was named in Tullie's will as an executor.
 15. Franks stood surety for Tullie's son, a Company writer in 1749 (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/70, p. 209). For Franks's later political involvement with Sullivan, *c.f.* Maclean, p. 181.
 16. Thomas Byfield, Company servant, who had arrived in Bombay in 1730, and attained council status in 1756, married Tullie's daughter, Frances.

17. G.M., vol. 33 (1763), p. 199.
 18. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/79, p. 302.
 19. G.M., vol. 35 (1765), p. 195.
 20. G.M., vol. 35 (1765), p. 395.
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TURNER, Whichcott (c.1696-1780)

of Richmond, Surrey.

Director of the East India Company 1742-45, 1747-50, 1752-55.

b., c. 1696, s. of Nathaniel Turner, linen draper,
of London, by Damaris, da. of Rev. Dr. Worthington,
of Jesus College, Cambridge and Rector of Fen
Ditton, Cambridgeshire; unm.. 1

Turner, son of a wealthy London cloth merchant, joined the East India Company as a supercargo in 1716,² and rose to the rank of chief supercargo in 1731.³ He inherited £4,000 at his father's death in 1737,⁴ and, by the early 1740's, had set up in business as a merchant in London, where his brothers, John and Michael, were already established as linen drapers.⁵ Turner's family had a long standing connection with Madras, where his brother, Nathaniel, had served with the Company, and had become a councillor in 1720,⁶ and where his nephew, Charles Turner, was sent as a writer in 1746,⁷ four years after Turner had entered the Direction. Most successful of his relatives in the Madras service, however, was his nephew, Charles Floyer, who was appointed writer in 1729,⁸ and became governor of the presidency in 1747. Floyer's career and private trading prospects benefitted from the patronage of Turner and his brothers, in the handling of remittances, and in the supply of silver to finance his

commercial ventures in India.⁹

Besides his involvement in the cloth trade, Turner also had shares in Company shipping. John and Whichcott Turner appear as owner charter-parties for the York Indiaman in 1719, and in 1740,¹⁰ so indicating a family interest in shipping over a long period. Turner himself spent a number of years on the Committee of Shipping.

He died, a wealthy man, at Richmond on 15 November 1780, leaving substantial bequests to his many kinsmen.¹¹

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1. G.M., vol. 50 (1780), p. 543; Jewers, vol. 2, pp. 424, 447; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1071, f. 545 (1780): Will of Whichcott Turner.
 2. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/54, p. 165.
 3. Morse, vol. 1, p. 185.
 4. Jewers, vol. 2, p. 447.
 5. The Universal Pocket Companion ... (London, 1741), p. 157; A Complete Guide ... (London, 1744), pp. 134-135.
 6. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/54, p. 482.
 7. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/69, p. 158.
 8. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/60, p. 355.
 9. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/65, p. 585; B/66, passim.
 10. I.O.L., Ct. Bks., B/55, p. 416; B/66, p. 200.
 11. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1071, f. 545 (1780): Will of Whichcott Turner; G.M., vol. 50 (1780), p. 543.
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VANSITTART, Henry (1732-?1770)

of Foxley, Berkshire.

Director of the East India Company April-Oct. 1769.

b., 3 June 1732, 3rd. s. of Arthur Vansittart, of Shottesbrook, Berkshire, by Martha, da. and coh. of Sir John Stonehouse, 3rd. Bt., M.P.; educ. at Reading school; m., 1 June 1754, in Madras, Emilia, da. of Nicholas Morse, governor of Madras, 1744-46.

M.P. for Reading 1768-?1770.¹

Governor of Bengal 1760-64.

Vansittart received the appointment of writer in the Company's Madras service in March 1746,² when only fifteen years of age. After a brief visit to England in 1751, he returned to Madras and rose to council status,³ being highly regarded by both Clive and Sullivan.⁴ He was transferred to Bengal in 1758, and appointed governor two years later with the full support of Sullivan, who wrote expectantly of him:

... from his Character he is high in my Esteem, & from his Virtues and Abilitys, I expect that lawless Settlement of Calcutta, will be reformed to Decency & Order 5

However, in this hope Sullivan was to be disappointed. Vansittart, who had superseded Bengal servants of long standing, roused antagonism by his measures, most notably by his attempt to abolish the inland trade privileges enjoyed by Company servants. His government witnessed two palace revolutions in which Clive's puppet Nawab, Mir Ja'far, was overthrown in favour of Vansittart's nominee, and then restored, following a war with his more independent-minded replacement. During these years large fortunes were made by a number of Company servants in Bengal, though Vansittart denied that he had made any great financial acquisitions.⁶

He returned to England after his governorship, and,

though remaining 'quiet' on the political scene,⁷ purchased a country estate, and spent lavishly in the manner of a typical 'nabob'. Within two years his expenditure forced him to consider returning to Bengal, where part of his fortune remained unliquidated. He was driven into the Sullivan camp for support, as his relations with Clive had been deteriorating since the events of his governorship. His overthrow of Clive's system in Bengal, and the published defence of his actions⁸ (which was attacked in print by Luke Scrafton (q.v.) as a condemnation of Clive's work in Bengal) led to their estrangement. It was also rumoured that Sullivan had been endeavouring to detach Vansittart from any ties with Clive in order to benefit from Vansittart's wide connections in the Company.⁹ Vansittart entered the fray on Sullivan's side in April 1766, when Henry Strachey was told:

Two days before the last Election [of] Directors for your Company, Vansittart put out a List of Persons by way of Surprise and in opposition to the house List, but by exertion of Lord Clive's friends we had the good fortune to defeat them and carried it hollow for the house list 10

Vansittart stood on Sullivan's 'list' again in 1767, but with no more success,¹¹ and, in June of this year, a move in the General Court to carry his appointment as governor of Bengal was defeated, in the face of the combined opposition of Clive and the directors, whose chairman, Rous (q.v.), 'had always been in a state of hostility' with Vansittart.¹² He became involved in the vast 'splitting' campaign of Sullivan's allies in the months before the 1769 election, and, though elected, suffered heavily in the subsequent fall in

stock prices. His financial position now more desperate than ever, he was chosen at the end of the year, as head of the three-man supervisory commission being sent to India to reform abuses. However, the ship in which Vansittart and the party were travelling was lost at sea after leaving the Cape.¹³

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1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 575. Vansittart's father-in-law is named here, incorrectly, as John Morse.
 2. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/68, p. 465.
 3. Holzman, pp. 165-166.
 4. N.L.W., MS. 200, p. 160: Robert Clive to Henry Vansittart, 25 Decr. 1758; Forrest, vol. 2, p. 182: Laurence Sullivan to Sir Eyre Coote, 16 March 1761.
 5. Forrest, vol. 2, p. 182: Laurence Sullivan to Sir Eyre Coote, 16 March 1761.
 6. I.O.L., Home Misc. Ser., 808, p. 264: John Walsh to Robert Clive, 13 Decr. 1765.
 7. I.O.L., Home Misc. Ser., 808, p. 264: John Walsh to Robert Clive, 13 Decr. 1765.
 8. Henry Vansittart, A Narrative of the Transactions in Bengal for the Years 1760-1764 (London, 1766).
 9. N.L.W., MS. 52, p. 60: John Walsh to Robert Clive, 27 April 1765.
 10. E.U.L., MSS. Photo 1697, correspondence 1764-70: Robert Quarme to Henry Strachey, 2 May 1766.
 11. L.M., vol. 36 (1767), p. 200.
 12. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/257, pp. 122, 128; I.O.L., MSS. Eur., E231 (no foliation): Robert Clive to Harry Verelst, 9 March 1768; Colebrooke, pt. 1, p. 154.
 13. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 575.
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VERELST, Harry (1733-1785)

of Aston Hall, Yorkshire.

Director of the East India Company 1771.

b., 1733, s. of Cornelius Verelst, by his w.,
Elizabeth; m., June 1771, Anne, da. and coh. of
Josias Wordsworth, of Wadworth Place, Yorkshire;
4s. 6da.. 1

Governor of Bengal 1767-69.

Verelst's father, eldest son of Cornelius Verelst, the celebrated Dutch flower painter, died when Verelst was a child. He was brought up by his uncle, William Verelst, a portrait painter,² and, with two of his brothers, was entered in the service of the East India Company.³ He was appointed as a writer in 1749, and selected for Bengal,⁴ where he rose to the chiefship at Chittagong during the government of Vansittart.⁵ He became a close friend of Clive when he arrived to begin his second term as governor, serving as a member of the controversial select committee, and was responsible for bringing forward evidence to condemn Bengal servants, such as John Johnstone,⁶ whom he succeeded as supervisor in Burdwan in 1765.⁷

When Clive left for England in January 1767, Verelst entrusted him with the management of his fortune in England,⁸ and succeeded him in the Bengal government. It was said of him:

He thinks Clive the greatest Man that ever existed,
consequently all his Systems infallible. 9

Though Verelst's integrity was generally accepted, he seems to have lacked Clive's activity, and strength of purpose, in carrying out policies. Soon after his return to England, Clive was calling on the directors to replace Verelst on the grounds of his inability to deal effectively with dissident

Company servants.¹⁰ However, in trying to eradicate the illicit trade of certain 'free merchants', Verelst deported in 1769 one William Bolts, a former partner of John Johnstone, whose case was taken before the Company in London.¹¹

Verelst returned to England in 1770 to be faced with charges from Armenian merchants (Bolts's agents) whose trade in Oudh he had prevented in accordance with an agreement between Clive and the ruler of that state.¹² Verelst participated in the stock 'splitting' manoeuvres of Clive's allies before the 1771 election,¹³ and stood himself, presumably to better represent his defence against Bolts. Bolts instituted proceedings against him, and was joined by the Johnstone party, who helped extend the attack to Clive, whose dismissal of John Johnstone had never been forgiven.¹⁴

Verelst published a defence of his conduct,¹⁵ but lost the case, and had considerable damages awarded against him in December 1774.¹⁶ He was, however, still able to advance an estimated £40,000 towards the purchase of Aston Hall from the Earl of Holderness in January 1775.¹⁷ He was considered as a candidate for the 1774 Company election, though Henry Strachey felt he was 'a sad Man of business, & his Indolence as a Governor will not let us hope for Activity when a Director'.¹⁸ He found it necessary to send a representative to Bengal in this year to settle his remaining Indian concerns,¹⁹ and was believed to be eager to return himself in 1778.²⁰

At some time in the early 1780's an 'alteration in his circumstances rendered it prudent to retire to the continent', and he died at Boulogne on 29 October 1785.²¹

1. B.L.G. (1952 ed.), p. 25⁹⁹.
 2. D.N.B., vol. 20, p. 248.
 3. Verelst's brothers, John and William, both died young in Bengal. His uncle, William Verelst, was commissioned by the Company, about 1740, to produce portraits of a member of the marine service (D.N.B., vol. 20, p. 250), and may consequently have had access to the directors' patronage.
 4. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/70, p. 206.
 5. A.M.Khan, pp. 50-51.
 6. Fort William-India House Correspondence, vol. 4, pp. 185-186.
 7. Holzman, p. 166.
 8. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 606 (no foliation): Harry Verelst to Robert Clive, 24 Jany. 1767.
 9. I.O.L., Orme MSS., O.V. 37, p. 145: General Richard Smith to Robert Orme, 31 Augt. 1767.
 10. N.L.W., MS. 57 (no foliation): Robert Clive to Thomas Rous, 2 Octr. 1767.
 11. For Bolts's career, c.f. N.C. Hallward, William Bolts, a Dutch Adventurer under John Company (Cambridge, 1920).
 12. A.M. Khan, p. 309, n. 3.
 13. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/19, pp. 912-913.
 14. Sutherland (1), p. 220.
 15. Harry Verelst, View of the Rise, Progress and Present State of the English Government in Bengal: including a Reply to the Misrepresentations of Mr. Bolts, and other Writers (London, 1772).
 16. D.N.B., vol. 20, p. 249.
 17. Lewis, vol. 28, p. 172, n. 8.
 18. E.U.L., MSS. Photo 1697, correspondence 1766-74: Henry Strachey to Robert Clive, 25 Feby. 1774.
 19. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., C7/A, p. 57: Henry Strachey to Philip Francis, 3 Jany. 1775.
 20. B.L., Add. MSS., 29142, f. 168: Francis Sykes to Warren Hastings, 15 Decr. 1778.
 21. G.M., vol. 55, pt. 2 (1785), p. 920; B.L.G. (1952 ed.), p. 2599.
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WALPOLE, The Hon. Thomas (1727-1803)

of Carshalton, Surrey.

Director of the East India Company 1753-54.

b., 25 Octr. 1727, 2nd. s. of Horatio Walpole, of Wolteston, by Lady Rachel Cavendish; educ. at Eton, 1741; Lincoln's Inn, 1741; m., 26 May 1750, (1) Elizabeth, da. of Sir Joshua Vanneck, 1st. Bt.; (2) Jeanne Marguerite Bataile de Montval, Comtesse de Villegagnon; d.s.p..

M.P. for Sudbury 1754-61; Ashburton 1761-68; King's Lynn 1768-84. 1

Walpole's marriage to the daughter of Sir Joshua Vanneck, the influential and wealthy merchant, established his position in London's financial world. In 1752 he held Government contracts in partnership with Zachary Philip Fonnereau (q.v.), and entered the East India Direction with him in 1753. Walpole was returned to Parliament two years later for Sudbury with Fonnereau's brother, Thomas.² His father hoped that by his sticking 'closely to the business in Leadenhall Street ... [and] by his proficiency there he might have appeared in Parliament with greater weight, credit, and service to the public and himself'.³

Though standing down from the Direction in 1754, possibly through his connection with the Brice Fisher group,⁴ Walpole retained an interest in India affairs, and was representing the cloth-exporting borough of Ashburton in Parliament. He was drawn into the election contest of April 1763 through his brother, Richard, a partner in the firm of Cliffe, Walpole and Clarke, bankers to Robert Clive. Richard Walpole 'split' large amounts of stock for Clive's cause,⁵ while Walpole himself stood for election on Clive's 'Proprietors' list', though without success.⁶ He continued to support the directors during the later 'sixties against opposition from Sullivan and his

allies in the General Court.⁷

Walpole's fortunes received a serious set-back in 1774 with the collapse of the Scottish banking firm of William Alexander, for whom he had accepted bills worth over £40,000. Further disasters followed, and the remaining years of his life were occupied in restoring his finances. He died on 21 March 1803.⁸

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1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, pp. 597-598.
 2. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, pp. 597-598.
 3. Quoted in Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 598.
 4. C.f. Chapter 2.
 5. Sutherland (1), p. 101.
 6. L.M., vol. 32 (1763), p. 224.
 7. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/257, p. 43.
 8. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, pp. 601-602.
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WALTON, Bouchier (? -1779)

of Angel Court, Throgmorton Street, London.

Director of the East India Company 1759-62.

b., ?, nephew of Thomas Walton, merchant of
Amsterdam; unm.. 1

Walton's father, a gunpowder manufacturer, and purchaser of salt petre from the East India Company, had died by 1723, when the business was taken over by his widow and one John Walton,² probably a son, and brother of Walton. Walton himself was established as a merchant in Throgmorton Street, by 1738.³ The Waltons had close ties with Amsterdam, where members of the family had settled as merchants, and had married into the Dutch commercial community.⁴ The family's interests in gunpowder production seem to have been continued by Walton and his brother, as his nephew, William Walton, a Company servant in Bengal in the mid-1760's, was referred to as a gunpowder expert.⁵

Walton's term in the Direction co-incided with a period of Sullivan's dominance. He remained faithful to Sullivan in subsequent years, and his partner, Thomas Walton, 'split' stock for Sullivan's party before the 1763 election, and in the following year.⁶ Walton himself stood on Sullivan's 'list' for the 1767 election, but was defeated.⁷ He remained active in India affairs during the years of the North Ministry, and, having brought his family's total of six votes into play in support of Rumbold's candidacy for the Madras government, sought his interest for a nephew in the Company's military establishment there.⁸

Walton was still on good terms with Sullivan, who employed him as an intermediary in trying to persuade their mutual friend

John Boyd (q.v.), to withdraw his demand for the return of money owed him by Sullivan. However, though Walton 'used every Argum^t that Friendship Interest or Policy could suggest',⁹ Boyd remained obdurate.

Walton died on 2 June 1779.¹⁰

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1. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1054, f. 279 (1779): Will of Bouchier Walton; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1090, f. 224 (1782): Will of James Walton; Guildhall, MS. 14941: Will of Thomas Walton, resident of Amsterdam.
 2. I.O.L., Ct. Bks., B/57, p. 510; B/61, p. 221.
 3. The Intelligencer: or, Merchants Assistant ... (London, 1738), p. 150.
 4. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1054, f. 279 (1779): Will of Bouchier Walton; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1090, f. 224 (1782): Will of James Walton; Guildhall, MS. 14941: Will of Thomas Walton, resident of Amsterdam.
 5. Fort William-India House Correspondence, vol. 4, p. 535. James and Bouchier Walton had stood surety for William in 1765 (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/80, p. 363).
 6. I.O.L., Stock Ledgers, L/AG/14/5/13, pp. 745, 749; L/AG/14/5/15, pp. 934, 937.
 7. L.M., vol. 36 (1767), p. 200.
 8. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. hist., c270, p. 20: Laurence Sullivan to Thomas Rumbold, 5 May 1778.
 9. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. hist., c270, p. 34: Laurence Sullivan to ?, 28 Decr. 1778.
 10. G.M., vol. 49 (1779), p. 327.
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WARD, Edward (? -1762)

of Mile End, Middlesex and of Beckingham, Kent.
 Director of the East India Company April-Sept. 1762.
 m. Ann ____.¹

Ward's early career was spent in the Company's marine service. In January 1746 the owners of the Warwick Indiaman proposed him as chief mate, with succession to the captaincy.² He assumed command in October of that year,³ and, a year later, was made captain of the York, taking her to the East on two voyages before resigning in November 1756.⁴

Little is known of his political affiliations, though he became a director at a time when Sullivan enjoyed great sway in the Company. The ship-owners with whom Ward was connected, Whichcott Turner (q.v.) and Captain Robert Hudson,⁵ Company director from 1721 to 1748, point to his association with families of long-established interest in the Company.

Ward first qualified as a proprietor in January 1759, and dealt to a small extent in stock during the years preceding his directorship.⁶ He died on 18 September 1762,⁷ without leaving a will.

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1. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 6/138 (1762): Administration of Edward Ward. Though Ward's widow is named as Ann, she appears elsewhere as Mary (I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/13, p. 746). Ward may possibly have been connected with John Ward and John Ward, junior, Company directors, 1709-11, and 1712-26, respectively.
 2. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/67, p. 138.
 3. Fort William-India House Correspondence, vol. 1, p. 183.
 4. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/73, p. 198.
 5. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/67, p. 200.
 6. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/12, p. 752.
 7. G.M., vol. 32, p. 448.

WARNER, Richard (c.1713-1775)

of Lincoln's Inn, London and of Harts, Woodford in Essex.

Director of the East India Company 1760-63.

b., c. 1713, 3rd. s. of John Warner, banker and goldsmith, of St. Clement's Lane, London; educ. at Wadham Coll., Oxford (B.A., 1734); unm.. 1

Warner was 'bred to the law, and for some time had chambers in Lincoln's Inn; but, being possessed of an ample fortune, resided chiefly at a good old house at Woodford Green in Essex, where he maintained a botanical garden, and was very successful in the cultivation of rare exotics'.² Having been well provided for by his father's will, Warner was able to devote much of his time to studies in literature and botany. in the former sphere, he was best known for his glossary on Shakespeare's works, and his translations of Plautus's plays, and in the latter field for his Plantae Woodfordienses, a study of the plant-life in the locality of his home.³

His interest in East India affairs is obscure, though he may have been chosen for his legal experience, and served on the Committee of Law Suits. Having unsuccessfully contested the Direction in 1758 on the 'Proprietors' list',⁴ he was elected with Sullivan in 1763,⁵ and did not oppose Spencer's Bengal appointment.⁶ He continued to support Sullivan's efforts to return to the Direction, and was a regular member of the 'Proprietors' lists' of the late 1760's.⁷

He died on 11 April 1775 at his house in Woodford, leaving his books and drawings to Wadham College, and his property to his niece, Kitty, wife of Jervoise Clarke Jervoise, M.P..⁸

1. D.N.B., vol. 20, p. 855; Al. Ox., later series, S-Z, p. 1502.
 2. John Nichols, Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century ... (London, 1812-15), vol. 3, p. 75.
 3. D.N.B., vol. 20, pp. 855-856.
 4. P.A., 4 April 1758.
 5. G.M., vol. 33 (1763), p. 199.
 6. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/79, p. 302.
 7. G.M., vol. 35 (1765), p. 195; P.A., 7 April 1766; L.M., vols. 36 (1767), p. 200; 37 (1768), p. 226.
 8. D.N.B., vol. 20, pp. 855-856.
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WATERS, Thomas (? -1764)

of Loughton, Essex.

Director of the East India Company 1759-62.

b., ?, s. of Samuel Waters; m. (1), 10 Augt. 1720, in Bombay, Elizabeth Savage; (2), 28 April 1745, Lydia Smith, 'a merchant's daughter of London'. 1

Waters had gone out to India before 1720, the servant of a Captain Peacock, and was retained by governor Charles Boone of Bombay as his secretary. Through the efforts of his father in London, Waters was appointed factor in the Company service.² Following a short break in England, Waters returned to Bombay in 1724 with the rank of councillor, attained with the help of Boone,³ who was now in England, and soon to become a Company director, and for whom Waters acted as attorney in succeeding years.⁴ Much of Waters's remaining time in the East was spent in Persia, where he was despatched about 1729 to inspect the activities of the Company's servants, and where he took over as chief.⁵ On the eve of his departure for England, in 1741, he was ranked second in council in Bombay.⁶

Besides his remaining financial interests in Bombay, which provided substantial remittances in subsequent years,⁷ Waters had a personal interest in the career of a relative, Charles Waters, for whom he stood surety in 1741,⁸ and in the careers of former Bombay colleagues. He had business concerns in common with John Horne, governor of Bombay from 1734 to 1739,⁹ with whom he stood surety for Laurence Sullivan, Bombay factor in 1742.¹⁰ Thus Waters would seem to have been connected with the 'Bombay faction' when he entered the Direction.

Though not eligible for re-election in 1763, Waters received stock from a connection of Sullivan's ally, Giles

Rooke (q.v.), with which he created four 'split' votes for Sullivan's party.¹¹ He was a member of Sullivan's 'list' in 1764,¹² and, though defeated, remained active in the General Court, where he tried to prevent the continuance of Clive's jagir in May of that year.¹³ His death, on 24 September 1764,¹⁴ was counted as a serious set-back for Sullivan's chances of regaining control of the Direction.¹⁵

1. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/55, p. 517; I.O.L., Bombay Ecclesiastical Returns, N/3/1, pt. 1, pp. 35, 51; G.M., vol. 15 (1745), p. 220; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/902, f. 375 (1764); Will of Thomas Waters. Waters's father may be identifiable with the 'M. Waters' who represented the Company's cloth buyers in 1723 (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/57, p. 492).
2. I.O.L., Ct. Bks., B/55, p. 517; B/57, p. 556.
3. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/57, pp. 576, 592.
4. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/61, p. 429.
5. I.O.L., Factory Records: Persia, G/29/15, vol. 1, p. 22.
6. I.O.L., Bombay Civil Servants, 1712-52, O/6/37, p. 101.
7. E.g. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/66, p. 409.
8. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/66, p. 465.
9. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/67, p. 517.
10. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/67, p. 147.
11. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/13, p. 745. For John Rooke, from whom Waters received the stock, c.f. Giles Rooke and Richard Gildart (qq.v.).
12. L.M., vol. 33 (1764), p. 215.
13. I.O.L., Genl Ct. Mins., B/256, p. 317.
14. N.L.W., MS. 52, p. 122: George Clive to Robert Clive, 21 Novr. 1764.

WEBBER, William (? -1779)

of Highland House, Ilford in Essex.

Director of the East India Company 1762-65.

b. ?, poss. rel. of Rev. Charles Webber; m., 20
Feb. 1755, Elizabeth Webster; ?d.s.p. 1

Director of the Sun Fire Office 1764-79.

Webber had a long standing connection with the Raymond family, dating back at least as far as 1741, when he was sworn in as third mate of the Wager Indiaman, for which John Raymond (q.v.) was an owner charter-party.² He made four voyages to the East between 1747 and 1761 as captain of the Prince of Wales and Harcourt Indiamen,³ in both of which vessels the Raymonds had shares.⁴ Though associated through the Raymonds and Samuel Hough with Laurence Sullivan,⁵ Webber had connections in the shipping world outside Sullivan's circle. Captain William Webber, junior, his relative and associate, was patronised by Clive, who approached Sullivan in 1762 in the hope that a profitable voyage might be found for him.⁶

Thus Webber was 'double-listed' in the elections of 1763 and 1764,⁷ and, despite opposing Clive's Bengal select committee,⁸ showed himself against Spencer's appointment to the same place.⁹ Neither was his election as a member of the 'House list' in 1765 indicative of a complete break with his friends in Sullivan's party.¹⁰ Sullivan felt that he was the only director in February 1766 on whom he could rely to support the interest of an associate, Sir Robert Fletcher, in India.¹¹ However, in the election of 1769, his shipping connections seem to have taken him into the directors' camp, and he was elected on the 'House list'.¹²

Webber named his 'good friend', Charles Raymond, as an

executor in his will, and his property in Ilford came into Raymond's hands.¹³ Webber may also have been a partner in Raymond's banking firm, Raymond, Harley and Webber, which began business in 1778, but which, by 1781, no longer included Webber's name.¹⁴ He died on 25 April 1779.¹⁵

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1. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/72, p. 67; G.M., vol. 25 (1755), p. 91; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1053, f. 226 (1779): Will of William Webber.
 2. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/66, pp. 210, 221.
 3. I.O.L., Mar. Rec. Cat., pp. 31, 35, 36, 39. Webber should not be confused with Captain William Webber, junior, commander of the Oxford and Lord Clive Indiamen in these years.
 4. I.O.L., Ct. Bks., B/67, pp. 408, 414; B/77, p. 134.
 5. Hough and Charles Raymond were owner charter-parties for the Harcourt in 1761 (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/77, p. 134).
 6. Forrest, vol. 2, pp. 190-191: Laurence Sullivan to Robert Clive, 18 Novr. 1761.
 7. G.M., vol. 33 (1763), p. 199; L.M., vol. 33 (1764), p. 215.
 8. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/80, p. 82.
 9. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/79, p. 302.
 10. G.M., vol. 35 (1765), p. 145.
 11. B.L., Add. MSS., 29132, f. 291^v: Laurence Sullivan to Sir Robert Fletcher, 12 Feby. 1766.
 12. L.M., vol. 38 (1769), p. 218.
 13. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1169, f. 412 (1788): Will of Sir Charles Raymond.
 14. Price, p. 73.
 15. G.M., vol. 49 (1779), p. 271.
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WESTERN, Maximilian (? -1764)

of Lincoln's Inn Fields, London and of Cokethorpe, Oxfordshire.
Director of the East India Company 1755-57.

b., ?, 2nd. s. of Maximilian Western, of Great Abingdon, Cambridgeshire, by Anne Mathews; m., 16 Feby. 1737, Dorothy Tahouden; ls. 3da.. 1

Western entered the Company Direction in 1755, having been a substantial holder of stock for some years.² He sat regularly on the Shipping Committee, though any ties with the Company's shipping bloc are obscure. He supported the party of John Payne (q.v.) in the election contest of 1758,³ and was only narrowly defeated.⁴

Though he did not contest the Direction again, he remained active in a proprietorial capacity in support of Payne.⁵ In May 1763 he was considered of sufficient importance to merit the Duke of Newcastle's soliciting his interest for Clive.⁶

He died on 12 April 1764.⁷

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1. B.Ex.P., p. 579; G.M., vol. 7 (1737), p. 123; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/898, f. 161 (1764): Will of Maximilian Western.
 2. He held £4,500 stock in 1756 (I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/11, p. 747).
 3. P.A., 4 April 1758.
 4. I.O.L., Orme MSS., O.V. 293, p. 103: John Payne to Robert Orme, 30 Octr. 1758.
 5. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/256, p. 250.
 6. B.L., Add. MSS., 32948, f. 332^v: 'Proprietors of East India Stock from Lord Clive's Paper - May 19th. 1763'.
 7. G.M., vol. 34 (1764), p. 198.
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WHEELER, Edward (c.1733-1784)

of New Court, St. Swithin's Lane, London.

Director of the East India Company 1765-68, 1770-73***,
1774*-76.

b., c. 1733, 4th. s. of Sir William Wheeler, 5th. Bt.,
by Penelope, da. of Sir Stephen Glynne, Bt.; m. (1),
c. May 1772, Harriet Chicheley Plowden; (2), in
Bengal, Charlotte, da. of George Durnford, of Win-
chester; 2da.. 1

Member of the Supreme Council 1777-84.

Wheeler began business in London as a linen draper in
Cornhill,² but, by the time of the American War, was partici-
pating in Government contracts, and his firm, Wheeler, Higgin-
son and Company, had begun to undertake remittances for both
Company servants and foreign traders in India.³ He entered
the Direction in 1765 on the 'House list',⁴ receiving his
qualification from the City banker, and prominent proprietor,
William Mills,⁵ uncle and patron of William Mills, junior,
(q.v.), Wheeler's City associate and relative.

He supported the Government during the years of the North
Ministry, and, by 1773, was chosen as deputy chairman, succ-
eeding to the chair on the death of Crabb Boulton (q.v.). He
seems by this date to have been eager for an Indian appoint-
ment, and was named as a supervisor in both the rival comm-
issions proposed by Sullivan and Colebrooke,⁶ and by the
directors.⁷ He supported the Government in the debates over
the Regulating Bill in 1773,⁸ and was included by the Mini-
sterial managers in the 'House list' for April 1774.⁹ In
partnership with fellow-directors, Devaynes and Wombwell
(qq.v.), he received a contract in 1776 to provision troops
in America.¹⁰

When the question of Hastings's and Barwell's recall

came before the Direction in May of that year, Wheler voted with the Ministerial group in favour of dismissal. It was believed that his support for the motion was ensured by a promise from the Government that he should replace Barwell in the supreme council.¹¹ His action made him unpopular in the General Court. Macleane reported to Hastings:

... Wheler has fallen into the utmost contempt. He will never be a councillor. It is hard to say whether he or Roberts, Gregory or N. Smith [qq.v.], are fallen lowest in the estimation of the public. 12

However, the Ministry stood by Wheler, naming him, firstly as successor to Hastings, whose resignation Macleane had tendered, but later as a replacement for Colonel Monson in the council, when Hastings repudiated Macleane's actions.

On his arrival in Bengal in December 1777, Wheler assured Hastings of his 'resolution to observe a perfect neutrality in any disputes which might arise, and to give his opinions on every measure which should be debated without regard to persons or parties'.¹³ However, he tended to oppose the governor-general, whose dismissal he had previously favoured, and only after Francis's departure did the two develop a good working relationship. Hastings's reports of Wheler's improved conduct encouraged the 'Indian' interest in London, led by Sullivan, to propose him as Hastings's successor in 1784, though the move was blocked by Dundas.¹⁴

Wheler died of illness at Suksagar, in Bengal, on 10 October 1784,¹⁵ leaving £50,000 to his widow and family.¹⁶

1. Bengal Obituary, p. 73; B.P.B., p. 2808; G.M., vol. 42 (1772), p. 246.
 2. Kent's Directory ... (London, 1766), p. 143.
 3. Ole Feldbaek, India Trade under the Danish flag, 1772-1808: European enterprise and Anglo-Indian remittance and trade (Odense, 1969), p. 71.
 4. G.M., vol. 35 (1765), p. 145.
 5. I.O.L., Stock Ledger, L/AG/14/5/15, p. 952.
 6. B.L., Add. MSS., 29133, f. 533^v: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 28 April 1773.
 7. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/258, p. 55.
 8. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/258, p. 214.
 9. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 9.
 10. Baker, p. 28.
 11. B.L., Add. MSS., 29137, f. 204^v: Francis Sykes to Warren Hastings, 30 May 1776.
 12. Gleig, vol. 2, p. 68: Lauchlin Maclean to Warren Hastings, 25 June 1776.
 13. Gleig, vol. 2, p. 183: Warren Hastings to Laurence Sullivan, 31 Decr. 1777.
 14. Philips (1), p. 42.
 15. Bengal Obituary, p. 73.
 16. I.O.L., Bengal Wills, 1784, p. 52: Will of Edward Wheeler.
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WIER, Daniel (? -1781)

of the Inner Temple, London.

Director of the East India Company 1768-71, 1773-76.

b., ?, bro. of Thomas and William Wier, of
London. 1

Member of the Committee of the African Company 1776-77.

Wier's background remains obscure, but he has been identified with the Irish law-writer of that name employed by William Hickey's father.² His political connections were to be with the Burkes and Lord Rockingham, for whose interest Wier was already obliged by 1768, and whose support he sought in April of that year, when he stood for the Company Direction.³ At East India House he had friends in the Ministry camp during the North Administration, and among opposition groups, which Rockingham was supporting. In 1772 he was one of those nominated by the directors to make up a supervisory commission for India,⁴ when Edmund Burke wrote of him:

Wier is certainly a man of principle, and a man of Business. But taking the whole Mass together, he is not sufficient to leaven the whole of such an heavy piece of Dough. 5

He acted closely with the Rockingham party in opposition to North's attempt to force legislation on the Company, and with other Rockingham friends, Gregory and Dempster (qq.v.), was chosen by the proprietors as member of a committee, in December 1772, to report on the state of the Company's finances, in retaliation to the Parliamentary Secret Committee appointed for the same purpose.⁶ In May 1773 he was elected to a further committee of the General Court, formed to oppose the pending legislation in Parliament.⁷

Though Wier's stance in the Company had been hostile to

the Government, Clive's political managers proposed that he be included in the 'House list' in 1774. However, John Robinson, North's secretary, who had found Gregory (q.v.) 'inadmissible', also refused to consider Wier. He was included in the 'Proprietors' list' by the Company opposition instead,⁸ and elected. Though on good terms with Philip Francis,⁹ he proved no more amenable to Ministerial dictates than before. He not only opposed the motion to recall Hastings in 1776, but was active in soliciting support for the governor-general from Rockingham and his connections,¹⁰ and in encouraging Rockingham to discipline recalcitrant followers, such as Gregory (q.v.), who had come out against Hastings.¹¹

Wier did not stand for the Direction after 1776, being chosen in 1777 as Commissary General for the British forces in America.¹² He was also charged by the directors with the task of enquiring into the fate of recent Company tea exports to America which had gone astray.¹³

He died in New York on 12 November 1781.¹⁴

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1. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1088, f. 105 (1782).
 2. Maclean, p. 304, n..
 3. Rockingham MSS., R1-928: William Fenton to Lord Rockingham, 28 Feby. 1768.
 4. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/258, p. 55. Wier has also been listed as a member of the commission proposed by Sullivan and Colebrooke, though this has now been shown to be John Wier, an associate of Lauchlin Maclean, and Commissary General to Dominica, 1764-70 (Maclean, p. 304, n.).
 5. Copeland, vol. 2, p. 355: Edmund Burke to Lord Rockingham, 29 Octr. 1772.
 6. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/258, ff. 79-80.
 7. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/258, p. 239.
 8. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, pp. 7, 17.

9. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., E12, p. 333: Philip Francis to Edward Wheler, 23 Feby. 1774.
 10. Gleig, vol. 2, p. 65: Lauchlin Macleane to Warren Hastings, 25 June 1776; Rockingham MSS., R1-1664: Daniel Wier to Lord Rockingham, [16 May 1776].
 11. Gleig, vol. 2, p. 68: Lauchlin Macleane to Warren Hastings, 25 June 1776.
 12. Hist. MSS. Comm. Royal Institution, vol. 1, p. 92: John Robinson to Genl. Sir William Howe, 4 March 1777. Wier's letter-book, while Commissary, has been published by the New York Historical Society, but no copy could be obtained in this country.
 13. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/97, p. 640.
 14. Hist. MSS. Comm. Royal Institution, vol. 2, p. 348: Genl. Sir Henry Clinton to Lord North, 12 Novr. 1781.
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WILBERFORCE, William (? -1777)

of Wimbledon, Surrey.

Director of the East India Company 1753-54.

b., ?, 2nd. s. of William Wilberforce, Russia merchant, of Hull, by Sarah, ygr. da. of John Thornton, merchant of Hull; m. his cos., Hannah, 2nd. da. of Robert Thornton, of London and Clapham, director of the Bank of England; d.s.p. 1

Assistant to the Russia Company 1756.

Wilberforce's father, a wealthy Baltic merchant in Yorkshire, was once Mayor of Hull, and had prepared the town's defences in 1745 in preparation for the expected Jacobite onslaught.² His elder brother, Robert, father of William Wilberforce, the philanthropist, entered the family business,³ while Wilberforce established himself as a merchant in King's Arms Yard, London.⁴

The Wilberforces were closely connected, through marriage, with the Thornton family,⁵ which had also originated from Hull, and a number of whose members had risen to prominence

in London's financial and commercial world. Though retaining his family's connection with the Baltic trade, as evinced by his membership of the Russia Company, Wilberforce seems, like his brother-in-law, John Thornton, an India director from 1749 to 1750, to have been concerned in the East India trade, most probably as a cloth dealer.

He died in 1777, possessed of great wealth and property, much of which was left to his more famous nephew, William Wilberforce, whose guardian he had been for many years.⁶

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1. B.L.G., vol. 3, p. 951.
 2. Sir Reginald Coupland, Wilberforce: A Narrative (Oxford, 1923), p. 7.
 3. R.A. and S. Wilberforce, The Life of William Wilberforce (London, 1838), vol 1, p. 2.
 4. A Complete Guide ... (London, 1755), p. 160.
 5. C.f. Chapter 2 and Appendix 2.
 6. B.L.G., vol. 3, p. 951 (Note of Wilberforce's death does not appear in Musgrave); P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1037, f. 494 (1777): Will of William Wilberforce; Oliver Warner, William Wilberforce and his Times (London, 1962), p. 24.
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WILKINSON, Jacob (c.1716-1791)

of Bedford Row, London.

Director of the East India Company 1782, April-Novr. 1783.

b., c. 1716; m. (2) Margaret Charlton;
(3) Elizabeth Challoner.

M.P. for Berwick-upon-Tweed 1774-80; Honiton 5 April 1781-84.

Wilkinson belonged to Berwick-upon-Tweed, though his family background is obscure. By 1757 he was established in London as a merchant and insurer, and became a regular subscriber to Government loans, holding nearly £30,000 at his death.² He appears also in 1761 in the Company records as owner charter-party for the Royal Charlotte Indiaman,³ and was referred to here, and elsewhere, as an insurance broker.⁴ In subsequent years he is also noted as a ship's husband.⁵

In Parliament Wilkinson voted consistently against the North Ministry,⁶ and his standpoint at East India House, where he was regarded as 'a bustling Proprietor of considerable influence',⁷ tended to reflect this. In February 1782 he, and his shipping connection, John Webb, M.P.,⁸ helped initiate an enquiry into the salt petre contract which Lord Sandwich's protégé, John Townson (q.v.), held from the Government.⁹ Though it has been claimed that Wilkinson's attachment to the Rockinghams cannot be substantiated by any correspondence of Edmund Burke or Lord Rockingham,¹⁰ there seems no doubt that he is the 'Mr Wilkinson' for whom Burke canvassed before the Company election of April 1782.¹¹

Wilkinson spoke in support of Fox's India Bill, and was named as an assistant commissioner. However, he refused

the nomination following moves to make the office incompatible with a seat in the House. With the Company chairman, Sir Henry Fletcher (q.v.), he resigned from the Direction in face of widespread hostility among the proprietors to Fox's Bill and its exponents.¹²

He died in Birchlin Lane, London, on 12 May 1791.¹³

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1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 641.
 2. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 641.
 3. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/77, p. 241.
 4. P.A., 10 April 1782.
 5. I.O.L., Mar. Misc., L/MAR/C/506: '[1775] Ships arrived from the several Parts of India'.
 6. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 641.
 7. B.L., Add. MSS., 29152, f. 506^v: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 20 Jany. 1782.
 8. Wilkinson had been husband for the London, which Webb commanded in 1777 (I.O.L., Mar. Misc., L/MAR/C/506).
 9. Sandwich MSS., F39/54: John Townson to Lord Sandwich, 23 Feby. 1782.
 10. Namier and Brooke, vol. 642.
 11. Copeland, vol. 4, p. 459: Charles Butler to Edmund Burke, 11 June 1782.
 12. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 462.
 13. G.M., vol. 61, pt. 1 (1791), p. 494.
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WILLIAMS, Stephen (1739-1805)

of Russell Place, St. Pancras, London.

Director of the East India Company March-April 1790, 1791-94, 1796-99, 1801-d. 1805.

b., 26 Augt. 1739, 5th. s. of Robert Williams, of Charminster, Dorset, by his 2nd. w., Anne Shaw, of Manchester; m. Charlotte, da. of Rev. Sir Hadley D'Oyly, 5th. Bt., Rector of Wotton and Felixstowe; 2s. lda.. 1

Elder Brother of Trinity House 1799-1805.

Williams replaced another member of his family as commander of the Hector Indiaman in 1768,² and went on to command a further three ships on six voyages to the East, before leaving the sea in 1788.³ His last three ships, the Lord Holland, Sullivan and Princess Amelia, were managed by his brother, Robert Williams,⁴ an influential ship's husband, and the City banking partner of Charles Raymond.⁵ It was thus as a member of the Company's shipping bloc that Williams stood for a vacancy in the Direction in March 1790. He was elected with the support of Dundas,⁶ and of Lord Sandwich,⁷ who still carried great weight among the proprietors. Sandwich also intervened in April 1791 to ensure Williams's re-election.⁸

He died in Russell Place on 2 March 1805.⁹ Both his sons entered the Company service,¹⁰ while the family's shipping interests continued to be represented in the Company by his nephew, Robert Williams, director from 1809 to 1812.

1. Chaplin Abstracts, 324/1; B.P.B., pp. 833, 2829; B.Hist.C., vol. 1, p. 618.

2. He succeeded Captain John Williams.

3. T.O.L., Mar, Rec. Cat., pp. 46, 49, 52, 58, 62.

4. Hardy (1), p. 99; section 2, pp. 13, 46.

5. Price, pp. 138-139.

6. Philips (1), p. 62, n. 4.
 7. N.L.S., MS. 8330, p. 201; Andrew Stuart to Genl. James Stuart, 11 March [1790].
 8. Sandwich MSS., F40/45: John Wombwell to Lord Sandwich, 27 Feby. 1791.
 9. G.M., vol. 75, pt. 1 (1805), p. 291.
 10. Charles Williams, Company servant in China; Henry Williams, Company servant in Bengal.
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WILLY, William (c.1703-1765)

of New Park, Devizes, Wiltshire.

Director of the East India Company 1746-49, 1751-54.

b., c. 1703, 2nd. s. of George Willy, mercer of New Park, Devizes; unm.. 1

M.P. for Devizes 1747-22 May 1765.

Willy, a London merchant of Barge Yard, Bucklersbury, began his career in partnership with his father, a linen draper of Friday Street, London.² Other members of the family were involved in the cloth trade in Devizes,³ where they exercised considerable political interest, Willy himself representing the town in Parliament. He was associated with Robert Bootle (q.v.), of the Company's shipping bloc, and with Charles Pole, M.P., a merchant and insurer.⁴

He was classed as a 'sure friend' in 1764 by Newcastle,⁵ who had supported Clive in the Company election of the previous year, and his name was included in a list of proprietors sent in February 1764 by Clive to George Grenville, whose votes at the General Court Grenville was asked to solicit.⁶

He died on 22 May 1765.⁷

1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 645.
 2. The Directory ... of Eminent Traders (London, 1736), p. 48.
 3. Sedgwick, vol. 2, p. 547; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/911, f. 317 (1765): Will of William Willy.
 4. Pole, the partner of William Thornton-Astell (q.v.), and Willy were named in Bootle's will as executors (P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/837, f. 141 (1758): Will of Robert Bootle).
 5. Quoted in Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 645.
 6. Tomlinson, p. 99: Robert Clive to George Grenville, 28 Feby. 1764.
 7. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 645.
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WINTER, James (c.1692-1756)

of Stepney, Middlesex.

Director of the East India Company 1737-40, 1742-45, 1747-50, 1752-54.

b., c. 1692, prob. s. of John Winter, ship-builder of Deptford; m. (1), 30 Novr. 1717, Hannah Evans, of St. Bride's, London; (2), his cos., Mary, eld. da. of Capt. Nehemiah Winter, of Finchley, Essex; 1 da., Mary, who m. Sir Atwill Lake, Bt., director of the Hudson Bay Company. 1

Elder Brother of Trinity House 1733-56.

Winter appears in 1712 as mate of the King William India-man,² which was commanded by his uncle, Captain Nehemiah Winter, whom he replaced as captain in 1715.³ He made at least one trip to the East in this vessel,⁴ before tendering a new ship, the Eyles, for acceptance by the directors in 1721.⁵ Following two voyages,⁶ Winter was obliged to resign his command in 1728 because of poor health. However, the family interest in the ship was preserved by the directors' acceptance of his cousin, Captain Ralph Farr Winter, Nehemiah's son, as next commander,⁷ while Winter retained part-ownership.⁸

His business interests seem to have remained predominantly maritime in nature. He was an Elder Brother of Trinity House from 1733 until his death, and, as a Company director, sat continuously in the Shipping Committee. He was a prominent member of London's Dissenting community, and, in 1734, led a breakaway group from the body of the Deputies of the Dissenting Congregations, since he considered the majority of the Deputies 'too much influenced by the Court', and not sufficiently radical in outlook.⁹

He died in Stepney on 24 January 1756.¹⁰

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1. Chaplin Abstracts, 195/1; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/652, f. 180 (1732); Will of Nehemiah Winter; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/821, f. 56 (1756); Will of James Winter.
 2. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/52, p. 249.
 3. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/53, p. 511.
 4. I.O.L., Mar. Rec. Cat., p. 17.
 5. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/56, pp. 433, 532. Joseph Eyles, member of a family with a long tradition of representation on the Direction, had been owner charter-party for the King William (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/52, p. 188).
 6. I.O.L., Mar. Rec. Cat., pp. 18, 20.
 7. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/60, pp. 101, 112.
 8. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/61, p. 407.
 9. Bernard L. Manning, The Protestant Dissenting Deputies (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 25-26.
 10. G.M., vol. 26 (1756), p. 43.
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WOMBWELL, Sir George (1734-1780)

of Crutched Friars, London and of Wombwell, Yorkshire.

Director of the East India Company 1766-68, 1775-77**-78**,
April-d. Novr. 1780.

bapt., 11 June 1734, eld. s. of Roger Wombwell,
merchant of Barnsley, Yorkshire, by Mary, da. of
Francis Chadwick; m., 4 June 1765, Susanna, da.
of Sir Thomas Rawlinson, Lord Mayor of London,
1746; cr. Bt., 26 Augt. 1778. 1

M.P. for Huntingdon 1774-2 Novr. 1780.

Wombwell, a London merchant, was brought into the East India Direction by Clive's party in 1766, being reckoned by Luke Scrafton (q.v.) as a 'man of weight in the City'.² He seems by this date to have formed a connection with Lord Sandwich,³ with whom he was to act during the rest of his political career. Wombwell supported Clive's majority in the Direction,⁴ and, in April 1769, by which time Sandwich had joined the Government, stood as a Ministerial candidate. However, he was one of the defeated members of the 'House list'.⁵

As a proprietor, Wombwell remained on close terms with the Ministerial party in the General Court, and an attempt was made to bring about his re-election to the Direction in 1774.⁶ By this date he was 'fully in Lord Sandwich's confidence',⁷ and was brought into Parliament for Huntingdon, being expected by Sandwich 'to make as strong declarations of political connexions with ... [him], as fit for one gentleman to make to another'.⁸ Though Wombwell's name was moved from the more competitive four-year class to the two-year group,⁹ he was defeated in the election. His lack of success was ascribed by Sandwich's friends to his unpopularity with many proprietors.¹⁰ The Ministry encountered less opposition in the

following year, and Wombwell was returned to the Direction on the 'House list'.¹¹

In the Commons, Wombwell voted faithfully with the North Administration, and extolled Sandwich in debates during the American War as 'the best minister, and perhaps the worthiest man in this country'.¹² With another member of Sandwich's personal following, William Devaynes (q.v.), he received a Government contract in 1776 to victual troops in America.¹³ At East India House he took a Government line over Pigot's overthrow at Madras,¹⁴ and in favour of recalling Warren Hastings.¹⁵ Wombwell was personally hostile to Hastings as a result of the governor-general's treatment of his nephew, a Company servant in Bengal.¹⁶

However, by April 1779, John Robinson was writing to Sandwich:

Sir George Wombwell has behaved badly ... of late in Leadenhall Street, affecting to be patriot there and to lay his own ground. 17

Wombwell and other Government followers were thought to be trimming their sails in the face of weakening Government control at East India House. It was also rumoured that he sought an Indian appointment, and possibly the office of governor-general.¹⁸ However, he was a Ministerial candidate in the election of April 1780, and was re-elected,¹⁹ despite attempts of the Company opposition to break Government control by calling for the exclusion of contractors from the Direction.²⁰ Any tendency towards a cooling of relations between Wombwell and Sandwich can only have been temporary, as, by October 1780, he was again expressing his willingness to oblige the Ministry in support of Sir George Macartney's

candidature for the Madras government.²¹

He died on 2 November 1780.²²

1. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 654.
2. N.L.W., MS. 52, p. 151: Luke Scrafton to Robert Clive, 2 April 1766.
3. Sutherland (1), p. 181.
4. E.g. I.O.L., Genl. Ct. Mins., B/257, pp. 91-92.
5. G.M., vol. 39 (1769), p. 211.
6. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 9.
7. E.U.L., MSS. Photo 1697, correspondence 1766-74: Henry Strachey to Robert Clive, 16 Decr. 1773.
8. Quoted in Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 654.
9. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 7.
10. Hunter-Blair MSS., no. 7: James Hunter to Keith Stewart, 21 April 1774. Hunter, who had been approached by his Admiralty associate, Sandwich, to support Wombwell, reported: 'I wrote you that Mr. G.W. was an exceptionable man with some of my friends and I am sorry to see he has been so cut by many others ...'.
11. Sutherland (1), p. 290, and n. 2.
12. Quoted in Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 654.
13. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 654.
14. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/93, p. 27.
15. Gleig, vol. 2, p. 62: Francis Sykes to Warren Hastings, 16 May 1779.
16. B.L., Add. MSS., 29143, f. 252: Francis Sykes to Warren Hastings, 16 May 1779.
17. Sutherland (1), p. 346, n. 2.
18. B.L., Add. MSS., 29143, f. 168: Francis Sykes to Warren Hastings, 15 Decr. 1778.
19. Sutherland (1), pp. 347-348.
20. G.M., vol. 50 (1780), p. 198.
21. Sandwich MSS., F39/29: Sir George Wombwell to Lord Sandwich, 16 Octr. 1780.
22. Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 655.

WOODHOUSE, John (c.1716-1792)

of Bridewell, London and of Yatton Court, Herefordshire.

Director of the East India Company 1768-71, 1773-76, 1778-81,
Jany. 1784-86, 1788-91.

b., c. 1716, eld. surv. s. of Francis Woodhouse,
lawyer, of Ledycot, Herefordshire; m., ?7 Septr.
1744, Elizabeth Baylis; 3s.. 1

Secretary of the Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals 1760-92.

Like his father, Woodhouse entered the legal profession, and, by the time of his death, was regarded as 'one of the most eminent solicitors in London'.² He was entrusted with the private finances of a number of Ministers, including Henry Fox, Lord Holland, whose sons' gambling debts he administered,³ and Lord Portland,⁴ with whom Woodhouse was in close contact when he first became involved in Company affairs in 1767.⁵ Woodhouse was acting at this time with the party opposing the directors, and stood unsuccessfully for election in April 1767 on the 'Proprietors' list'.⁶ However, his wide range of contacts made him acceptable to both sides, and he was elected safely in 1768 by being 'double-listed'.⁷

Thus, though becoming intimately connected with John Robinson at the Treasury, Woodhouse was able to stay on good terms with Sullivan, and members of the Company opposition. He corresponded amicably with both Hastings and Francis,⁸ and, when the question of Hastings's recall came before the directors in May 1776, chose to stay away. His absence was interpreted widely as a betrayal of his Government colleagues,⁹ but, such was the mobility of his position, that Maclean and the Hastings party could also view his absence as a defection from their ranks.¹⁰

Woodhouse's intermediate position was put to use by the

Ministry in the subsequent dealings with Hastings's agents regarding the terms for his resignation. Woodhouse was employed in secret negotiations with prominent friends of Hastings, though he later asserted that the whole scheme had been his own idea, since any attempt to compel the Company to dismiss Hastings would have weakened an already divided Ministry.¹¹

Woodhouse may well have been active behind the scenes before the election of 1780, and expressed great satisfaction when Sullivan joined the Government camp.¹² When Sullivan's re-election to the Direction was threatened in April 1783 by North's apparent failure to honour his promise of support, Woodhouse was again quick to intervene with the Ministry,¹³ though he was himself defeated in the election.¹⁴ He followed Robinson into the camp of William Pitt, and co-operated with his friends in the Hastings party in the overthrow of Fox's India Bill. He was returned to the Direction in January 1784 with the support of this group following Fox's defeat.¹⁵

Declining health, as a result of his work for the Bridewell hospital,¹⁶ steadily diminished Woodhouse's capacity to participate in the business of the Direction. Richard Atkinson (q.v.) described him in 1784 as 'Old and infirm ... and not standing very high in general estimation ... [though] Steady enough to his Party always'.¹⁷ He died at his Herefordshire estate on 6 August 1792.¹⁸

1. G.M., vols. 62, pt. 2 (1792), p. 772; 14 (1744), p. 506; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1223, f. 491 (1792): Will of John Woodhouse.

2. G.M., vol. 62, pt. 2 (1792), p. 772.

3. Colebrooke, pt. 1, p. 73.
 4. Colebrooke, pt. 2, p. 280, Appendix.
 5. B.L., Add. MSS., 32980, f. 315: John Woodhouse to Lord Portland, 16 March 1767.
 6. L.M., vol. 36 (1767), p. 200.
 7. L.M., vol. 37 (1768), p. 226.
 8. B.L., Add. MSS., 29134, f. 376: John Woodhouse to Warren Hastings, 30 March 1774; MSS. Eur., E12, pp. 275-277: Philip Francis to John Woodhouse, 20 Novr. 1775.
 9. Sutherland (1), p. 309.
 10. Gleig, vol. 2, pp. 63-64: Lauchlin Maclean to Warren Hastings, 25 June 1776.
 11. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., D18, p. 395: John Woodhouse to Philip Francis, 22 Novr. 1776.
 12. B.L., Add. MSS., 29145, f. 326: John Woodhouse to Warren Hastings, 1 Augt. 1780.
 13. Gleig, vol. 2, p. 517: John Scott to Warren Hastings, 23 March 1783.
 14. Copeland, vol. 5, p. 84, n. 1.
 15. Sutherland (1), p. 407.
 16. Edward G. O'Donoghue, Bridewell Hospital Palace, Prison, Schools from the death of Elizabeth to modern Times (London, 1929), p. 203.
 17. Furber (1), p. 486: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 22 July 1784.
 18. G.M., vol. 62, pt. 2 (1792), p. 772.
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SECTION 2

General Chapters

CHAPTER 1

The Direction: its historical Development, and Role in the Company Administration

The executive powers of the East India Company were vested in twenty-four directors by the Company constitution of 1709, the result of the amalgamation of the two existing, and rival, bodies, the 'old' and 'new' companies, each of which had recently striven to procure the exclusive monopoly of trade with the East for itself.¹ The new constitution embodied a system which had been in the process of development over the previous century, dating back to the Company's original charter of 1600 from Elizabeth 1, which guaranteed the East India merchants their exclusive trading rights. In the earliest years the Company's management was entrusted to twenty-four committees (later to be known as directors), and to a governor (later chairman), who was to be assisted by a deputy, elected by the General Court of proprietors of East India stock.² By the time of the Company's charter agreement with Oliver Cromwell, in 1657, there was still nothing said of the amount of stock required to qualify for election to the Direction, though it was generally high, varying from £1,000 to £4,000,³ and settling at £2,000, the figure prescribed in the 1698

1. C.f. William R. Scott, The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720 (Cambridge, 1910-12), vol. 2, p. 150 seq..

2. Auber, p. 195. By the time of the period under study, both the chairman and his deputy were chosen by the directors.

3. Sutherland (1), p. 7.

charter agreement with William III.¹ By this charter further restrictions in the membership of the Directorate were introduced, stipulating that directors should be 'natural-born subjects of England', and should not be concurrently directors of the other two main financial bodies in the City, the Bank of England and the South Sea Company.²

The directors were elected annually in April, from 1777 on the second Wednesday,³ by the holders, or proprietors, of at least £500 worth of East India stock,⁴ each of whom was entitled to one vote irrespective of the size of his holding.⁵ In theory, the proprietors were vested with almost absolute control. They had the power to elect and to dismiss directors, to make decisions on Company policy, and to reverse those of the directors. Taken to its logical conclusion, such power could have led to a 'state of complete dependence' of the Direction on the General Court.⁶ However, the period from the union of the companies in 1709, until the 1760's, was, like the contemporary political scene, characterised by a lack of friction, with the directors generally being allowed to conduct the Company's business undisturbed by a quiescent General Court.

1. Auber, p. 205.

2. Auber, pp. 204-205. 'England' may here signify Britain, as Scots, Irish and Welsh were elected to the Direction.

3. Auber, p. 206.

4. Auber, p. 354.

5. The qualification was raised to £1,000 by the Regulating Act of 1773, and the number of votes per holding was also altered, as will be seen.

6. James Mill, The History of British India (London, 1843), vol. 3, p. 3.

In these years a large proportion of the stock-holders were interested in Company shares only in so far as they proved a safe investment, and were not concerned with the internal politics of the Company. During the seventeenth century, the directors were able to amass large holdings, and, before the restrictions of the later charter agreements, to create sufficient votes to ensure their continuance in case of opposition.¹ After the union, and towards the beginning of the period presently under study, though the directors' personal power was restricted in the General Court by the stipulation of one vote per holding, the safety of their position was assured by their representing recognisable 'interests' among the proprietors, such as those concerned with the Company's shipping, or provision of merchandise for export, and, as such, could rely on these more actively interested, and City-based, proprietorial factions.

By 1629 the directors had managed to reduce the proprietors' meetings to quarterly occasions,² in March, June, September and December, ostensibly at least to suit the passive proprietors, 'the divers noblemen and gents who are in town only in Terme time'.³ Though a meeting could be called at any time by nine or more proprietors,⁴ in the settled political climate of the mid-eighteenth century, with occasional exceptions, little friction occurred with the directors. Rival factions

1. Sutherland (1), p. 8.

2. Auber, p. 353.

3. Quoted in Sutherland (1), p. 8.

4. Auber, pp. 353-354.

of proprietors began to exert their power from the 1760's, however, when the Company's expansion and increased wealth led to an increase in the number of individuals and parties in the General Court who were concerned with the fortunes of the Company, and desirous of influencing the selection of directors for their own ends. A precedent was set in 1758, when the General Court, organised by the party of Laurence Sullivan and Stephen Law (qq.v.),¹ reversed a decision of the Direction regarding the form of government to be adopted in Bengal, a move 'contrary to all propriety', and regarded with foreboding by onlookers who saw in it the end of 'the power, and every effectual authority of a Court of Directors'.² The way was now clear for minority groups to use the General Court for their own ends, as in 1765, when the dismissed Company servant, John Johnstone,³ succeeded in carrying his re-admission to the service despite evidence of his earlier misconduct in India; or when the supporters of George Pigot, in 1775, reversed the decision of the Ministry and the directors appointing Thomas Rumbold (q.v.) governor of Madras, choosing Pigot instead.⁴

The new situation also affected the composition of the Direction. The Company's growing responsibilities in the East, and its change in role, demanded directors of experience in the Company's administration at home and abroad, men who could put the Company's long-term interests before the

1. C.f. Chapter 3, part 1.

2. Holwell, p. 159.

3. C.f. Chapter 3, part 3.

4. Sutherland (1), p. 289.

immediate needs of party. However, with the increase in the number of factions involved in the Company, and the constant clashes at elections between rival 'lists' of candidates, many new faces appear in the Direction, often dropping out soon after, so giving directors little chance to master the details of the Company's organisation, and its new responsibilities. In 1754, of the twenty-four directors, twelve had sat for ten or more years, while ten were men of under five years experience. A significant change can be seen by 1759, when only one director had served more than ten years, and eighteen had less than five years experience, ten of whom had entered this year for the first time. Similarly, after the contested election of 1765, fourteen directors had served five years or under, and only three were of more than ten years standing.

The Regulating Act, it was hoped, would help improve the situation. Directors were now to be elected for four years rather than for one, with only six directors being elected annually, in the hope that, with their extended tenure, they would be less dependent on proprietorial factions for their seats, and able to act more for the Company's interests.

In an effort to curtail the power of the proprietors the stock qualification was altered to make voting in the General Court dependent on the possession of £1,000 stock, £500 allowing a vote only in a show of hands.¹ Those holding £3,000 were entitled to two votes, £6,000 carried three votes, and £10,000,

1. Philips (1), p. 2.

or over, four votes.¹ However, the reforms did no more than reduce the number of proprietors with occasional interest in Company affairs, confining power to the deeply entrenched factions, while the reduction in the number of annually elected directors made it easier for parties, such as the Ministry group, to attempt to control those chosen.²

The factionalism of the post-1760 period was accompanied by new tactics in the April elections of directors. To increase the voting power of parties in the General Court, the collusive transfer of stock appeared. As holdings of more than £500 did not entitle the owner to more than one vote, he could 'split' his stock into units of £500, and transfer them to friends, who could be relied upon to vote as he wished. The practice made its first major appearance before the election of 1763, and became a regular feature of Company politics in succeeding years. Though Parliament was unable to prohibit such practices, it tried in 1767 to limit their effectiveness by preventing any transfers in the six months preceding the April elections.³ However, such were the prizes at stake, that the legislation did no more than push the 'splitting' back six months, and made the operation even more hazardous for its exponents. This was well illustrated by the 'splitting' campaign organised by the party led by Laurence Sullivan (q.v.) before the 1769 election. Though Sullivan and his partisans obtained election, before they could return

1. Auber, pp. 349, 356.

2. C.f. Chapter 5.

3. Sutherland (1), pp. 173, 182.

the massive amounts of stock, which had been borrowed in the previous year with the promise of repayment at a guaranteed price, the market fell, and the participants in Sullivan's 'Great Scheme' suffered severe financial losses.

One further feature of election practice in the new era of Company politics requires explanation. It was customary for the directors to issue before each election a list of candidates whom they approved for election. This selection, the 'House list', was normally accepted by the proprietors. However, before the election of 1758, the first to be contested in the period, the party led by Laurence Sullivan produced a rival 'Proprietors' list' to challenge the directors' choice. A number of directors were included in both 'lists', thus being 'double-listed', since they were acceptable to either side, or because, as influential directors, they threatened to bring wide support to the party of their choice, and made it imperative for the opposition also to 'list' them, hence neutralising the influence in the contest of their following. This practice had a precedent in the disputed elections of 1708 and 1709, when friction still existed between the 'old' and 'new' interests, and led to the issue of rival 'lists',¹ though it had lain dormant during the rest of the first half of the century, as the Direction retained undisputed control of the Company, and the election of its members.

Before 1786 each director served on anything from two to five of the Company's committees, the chairman and his

1. Sutherland (1), p. 8.

deputy sitting on all. As all business which came before the directors originated from the relevant committee, it was important for a director representing a particular interest to be chosen for the requisite committee. Thus it was usual for directors of maritime background and connection to enter the Shipping Committee, which dealt with the hiring of ships for the Company's trade, and for those involved in supplying the Company with merchandise for export to be represented in the Committee of Buying, which was charged with the purchase of goods for export, and for which duties they were best suited by virtue of their background and experience.¹

The pre-eminent committee, on which the most senior directors sat, was that of Correspondence, which studied despatches from the Company's settlements in the East, and prepared replies. With the expansion of the Company's territorial and administrative responsibilities from the middle of the eighteenth century, this committee came to control Company policy. It was from this committee that Laurence Sullivan was able to direct Company policy in the years from 1758 to 1763, not only through instructions to India, but by the selection of his nominees for senior posts in the presidencies, as this committee was also charged with the Company's civil and military appointments. It was also in the Correspondence Committee that Luke Scrafton (q.v.), formerly a Company servant in Bengal, felt that he would be expected to sit, as the recognised expert on Bengal affairs in the Direction

1. Selection to committees was by seniority, determined by length of service, though when there were a number of directors of similar standing, or when the turn-over of directors was great, aptitude seems to have been considered.

during the mid-1760's. The committee 'performed, in fact, the prime and governing business of the Company: the rest was secondary and subordinate'.¹

After Correspondence, in order of precedence, were the Committees of Law Suits, whose members deliberated on questions of litigation in which the Company might be involved, and who were often directors of legal background;² the Committee of Treasury, which prepared the dividend, determined the interest payable on Company bonds, negotiated loans and purchased bullion for export; the Warehouse Committee, fourth in seniority, dealt with the Company's 'investment', the goods purchased in the East for sale in England; the Committee of Accounts, which accepted bills of exchange drawn on the Company in India, and formed estimates of the Company's financial position at any one time; the Buying Committee, which has been mentioned; the House Committee, which handled the running and upkeep of the Company's buildings and warehouses; the Shipping Committee, eighth in seniority by tradition, but one of three most important committees, being responsible principally for the arrangement of terms of freight with owners of ships hired by the Company; the Committee of Private Trade, dealing with the amount of private trade allowed individuals exporting on Company ships, and the Committee for the Prevention of Private Trade, whose duties came to be indistinguishable from those of the previous committee.

1. Mill, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 5.

2. E.g. Dempster, Warner and Woodhouse (qq.v.), who spent all their years as directors in this committee. William Snell (q.v.), also a solicitor, was a regular member.

Other committees were set up when necessary, such as that with responsibility for the King's regiments employed in war by the Company. Finally, reference must be made to the Secret Committee, established officially by Pitt's India Act of 1784 to work in close collaboration with the new Board of control, and to consist of the chairmen and most senior directors, thereby obviating the Board's need to convene a full meeting of the Direction to discuss, and implement, Board proposals. The Secret Committee, however, had a longer pedigree,¹ and had existed formerly, in time of war, to co-ordinate the Company's convoy arrangements, and at times when the directors chose representatives from their number to negotiate with the Government, as in 1762, over the proposed terms of peace with France.

The organisation of the committee system reflected the Company's traditional commercial orientation. However, with the Company's move towards the assumption of territorial responsibilities in the 'sixties, the committee system, as it stood, had clearly outlived its usefulness. Selection by seniority excluded men of recent Indian experience from the policy-making committees, and a system by which the Committee of Warehouses enjoyed greater prestige than those of Accounts and Buying, and by which the influential Shipping Committee was placed below the relatively insignificant House Committee was obviously outdated. Reform was resisted for many years

1. C.f. Cyril H. Philips, 'The Secret Committee of the East India Company', B.S.O.A.S., vol. 10 (1940), pp. 300-315, and 'The Secret Committee of the East India Company, 1784-1858', B.S.O.A.S., vol. 10 (1940), pp. 699-716.

by the majority of the directors, who feared that any move away from the system of selection by seniority might affect their rights to patronage, which were also decided by seniority.¹ However, a compromise was reached in 1786, and the existing committees were streamlined into three new classes encompassing all the previous classifications.²

Despite the inadequacies of the committee system, with an active and able chairman working in harmony with the Company's clerical staff, the Company could attempt to grapple with the problems brought by its new responsibilities. The chair was a source of great power for its incumbent. As a member of every committee he could influence the development of Company policy in every department, and only through him could business be brought forward at meetings of the Court. A skilful chairman could postpone the discussion of any matter which might be prejudicial to his interests until sure of a favourable majority.³ Richard Atkinson (q.v.) wrote of the chairman, that he 'brings forward what he pleases when he pleases',⁴ and, to facilitate the management of the Direction by his Ministerial allies, Atkinson proposed that the chairman be appointed by the Crown.⁵

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1. Furber (1), p. 489: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 31 Jany. 1785.
 2. Class 1: Correspondence, Law Suits, Military Fund, Treasury, Civil College and Library; Class 2: Buying, Warehouses, Accounts, House, Military Seminary; Class 3: Shipping, Private Trade.
 3. Philips (1), p. 13.
 4. Quoted in Philips (1), p. 13.
 5. Furber (1), p. 484: Richard Atkinson to Henry Dundas, 22 July 1784.

The chairman enjoyed the lion's share of the Company's patronage, and was personally responsible for the allocation of voyages to the various commanders in the Company's marine service, thus being in a position to favour friends and connections in the influential shipping bloc.¹ He was the only director who could call for particular accounts of any area of Company spending to be drawn up,² thus being able to conceal the Company's true financial situation, as happened in 1772, when the chairman, and a coterie of close friends in the Direction, were accused of concealing the real state of the Company's finances to facilitate their speculations in India stock.³

By convention the chairman had annexed more power to his office. Though he and his deputy were chosen by the directors, in fact the chairman was allowed to nominate his deputy, who usually succeeded to the chair in the following year. This right was rarely contested, and it was only the hostility towards the chairman, Thomas Rous (q.v.), in 1767 which motivated the other directors to oppose Thomas Saunders (q.v.), his choice of deputy. Sullivan took advantage of the convention in 1761, when, knowing that he would be out of the Direction in the following year, and wishing to retain some control over proceedings in the Company, chose his follower, Thomas Rous, as deputy, so that Rous's chairmanship would

1. C.f. Chapter 4, part 1.

2. Shearer, p. 268.

3. C.f. Cockburn, Colebrooke, Crabb Boulton and Purling. Collusion with members of the permanent staff, and with other directors in the Accounts Committee, might allow the chairman to deceive directors and proprietors in this way.

coincide with his year of absence, and would thus mean that he had a reliable dependant at the helm of the Company.

The need for not only and able, but also a strong, chairman, capable of imposing some degree of unity on a Direction increasingly composed of mutually antagonistic elements, was recognised following Sullivan's defeat in 1765. His successor at the head of the Company, Thomas Rous, though 'honest', was unsuited to the office by his weakness of character. The agents of Clive, whose party now controlled the Direction, despaired at the lack of a strong figure to co-ordinate affairs. Clive was told:

The misfortune is we have no Leader, for one must necessarily be in all committees or no business can be done. 1

What our want of a leading Genius must end in I cannot guess, for though we hold together now through fear of the common enemy ... we shall certainly split & divide into factions ... If there was but one man of superior address among our friends, these difficulties would be obviated. 2

The directors' reliance on the presence of the chairman to expedite business was well illustrated by the case of John Harrison (q.v.), chairman in 1775, whose periodic bouts of pique, and consequent retreats to the country for weeks on end, brought all business to a standstill.

Though the stress on the need for a chairman with energy and ability remained throughout the period, by the mid-1760's, with the new political scene at East India House, other

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1. N.L.W., MS. 52, p. 41: John Walsh to Robert Clive, 3 July 1764.
 2. N.L.W., MS. 52, p. 44: John Walsh to Robert Clive, 22 Novr. 1764.

attributes came to be expected of a potential candidate.
Thus Thomas Saunders (q.v.) was held to be unsuitable for the
office in 1768 'from his want of knowledge to conduct a party,
and, from a want of skill to debate in General Court'.¹

1. C.f. Thomas Saunders (q.v.).

CHAPTER 2

Mercantile Dominance and the 'Old' Direction

Part 1: The Mercantile Elements of the Direction

By far the most numerous class of directors to be represented in the period 1754 to 1790 was that composed of men of a City background, merchants whose business concerns gave them an interest in the East India trade. During the 1760's, with the new era of strife in Company affairs, and the proliferation of parties at East India House, the power of the mercantile elements, who up till then dominated the Direction, and whose leaders had supplied the chairmen and leading directors, was challenged by newer groups in the Company, whose composition and importance are analysed in later chapters. For a better understanding of the transformation which overtook the Company, and the Direction, in this period it is important to consider the constituent elements of the Court in the pre-Plassey period, as typified by the directors of the 1750's, and the factors contributing to the general lack of friction among them, in such marked contrast to later years.

The directors of the early period were representative of the class of City merchants and financiers to be found on the Directorates of the City's major financial and commercial institutions, such as the South Sea Company and the Bank of England, men of the City's select mercantile class who had access to Government contracts and Treasury loans. Though each director had interests in one or more areas of Company affairs, and acted with directors of common interest on the rare occasions of conflict in the Court, each also belonged to

the larger world of London commerce and finance, with family and business connections in other City bodies, and with concerns in other aspects of the City's business life, unlike the post-1760 period, when a growing number of directors were concerned exclusively with East India matters. Eight members of the Direction of 1714 were later to be directors of the Bank of England, two were former aldermen, and one was a future sheriff, while, during the 1760's, only two directors were also members of the Bank's Directorate, and both were directors of an older generation.¹ Thus, it has been suggested, that the 'range of connections maintained by the directors in the second half of the eighteenth century may have been more limited than that enjoyed by their predecessors',² a tendency encouraged by the Company's increased wealth and power, and a contributory factor in the development of the East India scene as a political battle-field in its own right.

Most obvious of the commercial interests represented in the Direction throughout the period 1754-1790, but whose power was at its greatest before 1760, was that which may be termed the 'cloth interest'. This general term has been chosen to designate those directors concerned in the supply of cloth and woollens to the Company for export to the East, and those involved in purchasing silks and calicoes,³ which

1. John Harrison and William Snell (qq.v.).

2. Shearer, p. 203.

3. These buyers were involved in the re-export of goods to the Continent, and, as their frequent complaints indicate (e.g. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/72, p. 433) were represented in the Direction to try to ensure that the Company's imports were of the highest quality.

the Company imported. The group's strength in the Direction made it a powerful lobby in the Company, allowing its members to dominate the Committees of Buying and Warehouses, whose activities most directly affected their interests. The enhancement of the cloth dealers' interests was facilitated by the Company by-law which precluded only the Company's buyers, of all the directors, from the need to declare an interest at meetings of the Direction,¹ a privilege that led inevitably to abuse.

A study of the backgrounds of the twenty-four directors in 1754 reveals that at least eleven had definite connections with the cloth trade,² of whom six sat in the Buying Committee,³ and six in the Committee of Warehouses.⁴ Moreover, cohesion in the Direction was fostered by the various family and business ties of these directors with others of their brethren. William Rider (q.v.), supplier of wine to the Company settlements, was related to Sir William Baker, former director, a wealthy merchant and the City associate of Linwood and Newnham (qq.v.); Thomas Walpole (q.v.) held Government contracts in partnership with Fonnereau (q.v.), and was this year elected to Parliament for the same seat as Fonnereau's brother; Robert Jones (q.v.), a new director, though of marine background, was believed to owe his election to John Payne (q.v.), a prominent director, and member of the 'cloth

1. Wissett (no pagination).

2. Burrow, Chauncy, Cutts, Fonnereau, Linwood, Newnham, Payne, Phipps, Turner, Wilberforce and Willy (qq.v.).

3. Cutts, Fonnereau, Linwood, Payne, Turner and Willy (qq.v.).

4. Cutts, Fonnereau, Newnham, Payne, Turner and Willy (qq.v.).

interest'.

Though there is insufficient evidence to prove the existence of a well-organised cloth faction, or bloc, in the Company, on the lines of the shipping interest,¹ there seems to have been a recognition of common interest among the clothiers in keeping the supply of merchandise to the Company in the hands of directors and their connections, so resulting in a monopoly. However, just as the shipping faction might exhibit unity in the face of external threats to the continuance of its monopoly, but could experience the utmost difficulty in maintaining harmony among its members when their individual interests were at stake, so friction might occur between particular cliques of clothiers, or between individuals, in competition over the supply of merchandise for the East India trade.

The supply of cloth to the Company was in the hands of the powerful Blackwell Hall factors, whose pre-eminent position in the cloth trade rested on the provincial organisation of the industry. The county clothiers depended on the factors in London to act as intermediaries with prospective buyers, such as the Company. Members of the 'cloth interest' in the Direction retained close ties with the factors,² and could close ranks when the interests of any of their associates were threatened. One such factor was Brice Fisher,³ a cloth

1. C.f. Chapter 4.

2. Directors could be factors themselves, or, like Creed (q.v.), might have married into their families.

3. C.f. Sir Lewis Namier, 'Brice Fisher, M.P.: A Mid-Eighteenth Century Merchant and his Connexions', E.H.R., vol. 43 (1927), pp. 514-522.

supplier to the Company, who, in 1754, was accused of providing poor quality cloth. The subsequent enquiry illustrates the close relations that might obtain between particular factors and their allies in the Direction, while the resulting collusion, though often detrimental to the Company's interests, was hard to prove, and because of the clothiers' power in the Direction, impossible to stamp out.

Henry Crabb Boulton (q.v.), a member of the Committee of Buying in 1753 which had accepted the consignments from Fisher, and who was not a confidant of Fisher's circle of friends, asserted that 'Mr. Chauncy [q.v.] deliver'd to Mr. Rous [q.v.] a piece of Paper 1st year marked W.P. 500 - and Mr. Rous told Mr. Boulton that Mr. Chauncy at the same time said, You must but these five hundred pieces'.¹ Chauncy denied the charge, and, when Rous claimed that his memory would not allow him to substantiate that these were Chauncy's actual words, the case against Fisher was dropped by the directors. Evidence of collusion among Fisher's associates in the Direction comes from a source outside the Company. Lord Royston was told by his brother:

The ministers have had a meeting with the directors; who, it seems, have lately discovered a very gross fraud in their trade, committed by a person who supplies the Company with English cloth, whose name is Brice Fisher ... The fraud upon the Company is said to amount to a very large sum ... Yet, it is said, that a party among the directors were against prosecuting this man. 2

The resources of the Fisher connection were stretched to their

1. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/73, pp. 176-177.

2. Quoted in Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 426.

limit on this occasion. A motion that he had been negligent was put to the ballot, and the votes being equal, was withdrawn.¹ However, Fisher, who up till then had appeared regularly in the Company minute books as the recipient of large sums of money for his cloth, disappeared from the books after this date, and his associates, William Braund, a director until 1753, William Willy, Richard Chauncy, Z.P. Fonnereau, Nicholas Linwood, Thomas Walpole and William Wilberforce (qq.v.), did not stand for the Direction again, though the last four were not due to stand down.

A similar case occurred in 1757, when two members of the Buying Committee, Newnham and Crabb Boulton (qq.v.), were accused of fraudulent activity to damage the interests of a rival factor. They were charged with authorising the payment to one Webb, a prominent factor, of a sum for his merchandise twenty percent less than that paid to other suppliers for cloth of the same quality. However, as in the Fisher case, the directors concerned were cleared of any responsibility by their brethren, and Webb was found guilty of remarks which 'indecently reflected on the Conduct of the Gentlemen of the Committee of Buying'.²

During the period from 1709 to that under study here, there was a steady expansion in the Company's exports of goods, a trend benefitting those engaged in the supply of merchandise, and perhaps in some ways attributable to the influence they carried in the Direction, and in the formulation of Company

1. Sutherland (2), pp. 129-132, Appendix 1.

2. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/74, pp. 430-431.

commercial policy. The directors were obliged by the charter of 1693 to export English manufactures to the value of £100,000 per annum. Though woollens constituted a basic part of the Company's trade, accounting for sixty per cent of the value of all goods sent out before 1750, there continued to be periodic criticism of the Company for exporting too much bullion to purchase its investment. Thus, during the 1750's, greater emphasis was placed on the export of merchandise, so that the bullion sent out in 1757 came to less than half the average for the previous five years. The directors were so keen to increase their merchandise exports that servants in India were encouraged to reduce the price if a bigger market could be won.¹ Over the whole decade of the 1750's, more than half of the London-based cloth exports went to the Levant or to the East Indies.² In such a situation where the prizes at stake were more lucrative than ever before, it would have been difficult to preserve total harmony among the directors; yet friction such as that caused by the Fisher scandal seems to have been kept out of the General Court, while the relative infrequency of such cases led to no disintegration into factionalism in the day-to-day business of the Direction.

The directors' involvement with groups in the cloth trade could take other forms, particularly through associations with the regions of England involved in the supply of cloth for the London market. A number of directors had origins in the

1. Shearer, pp. 38, 40-41.

2. Ralph Davis, Aleppo and Devonshire Square: English Traders in the Levant in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1967), p. 114, n. 2.

counties of the West Country which supplied the City, and hence the Company, with the bulk of its broad-cloth for export. Many factors, such as Brice Fisher himself, had begun as clothiers in Wiltshire, Somerset or Gloucestershire, and had moved to London to the centre of the trade. William Willy (q.v.), son of a mercer, originated from Devizes, which Defoe described in the early century as a 'large and important Town, and full of Wealthy Clothiers'.¹ Willy represented Devizes in Parliament and undoubtedly was concerned to promote in the Direction the interests of the local clothiers with whom his family was closely associated. There is more explicit evidence for such activity in the case of Nathaniel Newnham (q.v.), who tried to establish a Parliamentary interest in the borough of Ashburton by promising to promote the export of local wares through the Company.²

In the case of other directors, the move from the country had been made by an earlier generation. John Payne's (q.v.) father had come to London in 1696, when he had been apprenticed to a haberdasher.³ By success in the cloth trade, he was able to pass a profitable business on to his sons, John and Edward, whose subsequent careers were illustrative of those of many of their contemporaries who gravitated from commercial pursuits to the realms of pure finance as the century progressed. John entered a banking partnership in 1758, while Edward became a director of the Bank of England two years later, and it was in

1. Daniel Defoe, A Tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain [1724] (London, 1927), vol. 1, p. 281.

2. Sullivan and Walpole (qq.v.) also sat for Ashburton.

3. J.A.S.L. Boyce, Smiths the Bankers, 1658-1958 (London, 1958), pp. 68-69.

banking that the family's future lay. In the same mould was Zachary Fonnereau (q.v.), the son of a Huguenot linen merchant, and who, with his brother, moved into the area of Government contracting, and the underwriting of Treasury loans, though retaining interests in the supply of cloth to the Company.

The diversity of interests of directors and their families, particularly in the first half of the century, can also be illustrated by the connections of many of their number with other branches of England's export trade in cloth and woollens, areas of commerce which had provided the stimulus for the development of the East India trade in its earliest days. London merchants already exporting to the Continent in the early seventeenth century had looked to the East as another possible outlet for their wares, an ambition which was to be realised to the full in the first half of the next century with the great expansion in the Company's exports. This 'boom' co-incided with the halcyon period of the 'Portugal trade', by which English merchants exported large amounts of cloths and light woollens in return for wine, and gold from Portugal's colony in Brazil. The traditional links between the East India trade and that with the Iberian peninsula, and their similarity in nature resulted in a number of families having long-standing interests in both,¹ and in a number of directors, who were recognised in the City as 'Portugal' or 'Lisbon' merchants, being prominent in the Company.²

1. E.g. the Raymond family (c.f. John and Jones Raymond (qq.v.)).

2. E.g. Motteux, John and Jones Raymond, Robarts, Roberts, Stephenson and Townson (qq.v.). Jones and Travers (qq.v.) had commanded vessels in the 'Lisbon' trade.

Such inter-connections between the East India and Portuguese trades might be reinforced by the involvement of directors in other areas of commerce common to both. The popularity in eighteenth century Britain of Portuguese wine, and the demand in the Company's Eastern settlements for Madeira (a wine which did not deteriorate in hot climates) led to a flourishing, and often over-lapping, trade in both items. Firms such as that in which Chambers, senior, Chambers, junior, and Rider (qq.v.) were partners, and which contracted to supply the Company with Madeira for the Indian settlements, might be represented in the Direction over long periods and could have close ties with brother-directors involved in the Portuguese and East India cloth trades.¹

The inter-connection of the East India and Portuguese traders was also true of other spheres of commerce related to the concerns of the Company. Merchants involved in the Levant trade, or the Mediterranean, might also be represented in the Direction,² so illustrating further the Company's place in the wider world of English, or London, trade. Behind the inter-related business interests of the City scene, and the close ties to be found among the members of particular Directorates, were more basic links, fundamental in the

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1. The firm was represented in the Direction from 1738, when Rider was first elected, until 1773, when Chambers, junior, stood down. Rider's connection with the 'cloth interest' has already been noted, while his brother-in-law, Sir William Baker, was a London wine importer. Other wine merchants in the Direction in the period, 1754 to 1790, were Thomas Cheap, a Madeira contractor, and John Michie (qq.v.).
 2. E.g. Jacob Bosanquet, senior, and Samuel Smith (qq.v.) were both involved in the Levant trade.

organisation of eighteenth century business, and derived from family connection. The importance of family ties, through their contribution to harmony in the Direction, and to the continued power of vested interests represented there, can now be examined.

Family tradition and continuity in the Direction.

Important through their contribution to the cohesion of the Direction, particularly in the first half of the century, because of the strength of their family ties, were those directors of Huguenot origin.¹ The close inter-connection of family and business ties in eighteenth century commerce established good relations between the Directorates of the large City institutions on which prominent Huguenot families, such as the Amyands, Bosanquets, Dorriens, Du Canes, Gildarts, Motteux and Pigous, were represented. The family played a crucial role in the business organisation of the time, since 'business in the eighteenth century, like business in the Middle Ages, was still largely on the family principle'.² This applied particularly to trade with the Continent, in which Huguenot families were prominent,³ since, as 'the whole of this international trade was carried on by credit, it may be said that personal recommendations stood as the

1. E.g. Amyand, Boehm, Jacob Bosanquet, Jacob Bosanquet, junior, Richard Bosanquet, Devaynes, Dorrien, Du Cane, Fonnereau, Lascelles, Motteux, Pigou, Rooke, Travers, Tullie, Vansittart and Verelst (qq.v.) had Huguenot, or at least, Continental origins. Lemesurier, from the Channel Islands, Thomas Rous, Thomas B. Rous and Bouchier Walton (qq.v.) may also have had Huguenot connections.

2. Wilson, p. 28.

3. C.f. the Dutch connections of the Bosanquets, Dorrien and Walton; the German contacts of Amyand; the Scandinavian links of Boehm; and the French ties of Motteux.

foundation of all international trade'.¹

Study of the Huguenot members of other contemporary City Directorates has revealed no tendency among these families to establish distinct political factions.² The Huguenots are important, however, through their contribution to cohesion in the Direction, and to the hereditary tendencies in the membership of the Direction which worked towards the creation of a perpetuity of certain families and interests, a process unopposed by the quiescent General Court. Thus Fonnereau succeeded, in 1753, his brother, Abel, an East India director from 1749 to 1752; Peter Du Cane, a director from 1764, had been preceded by his father, who retired from the Direction in 1753; a member of the Lethieullier family,³ to which Christopher Burrow's mother and wife belonged, had sat in the Directorate until 1733, Burrow himself becoming a director in 1735; Thomas Walpole married into the wealthy Van Neck family, one of whose members, Gerard Van Neck, had been an East India director from 1729 to 1731; Bouchier Walton, whose name and extensive Dutch connections point to his being of Huguenot background, though not following a relative in the Direction, succeeded his father in the family gunpowder business,⁴ which had long associations with the Company.

1. Wilson, p. 29.

2. W. Marston Acres, 'Huguenot Directors of the Bank of England', Hug. Soc. Proc., vol. 15 (1933-37), p. 242.

3. Benjamin Lethieullier.

4. Buyers of salt petre imported by the Company from India for the manufacture of gunpowder were represented on the Direction in the period by Walton, and another Huguenot, Frederick Pigou (q.v.).

The importance for the continuity and harmony of the . Direction in the pre-1760 period of family connections is also demonstrable from other family groups which established traditions, or even dynasties, at East India House, occasionally of sufficient endurance to survive the upheavals of the 'sixties, and to continue into the next century. Such a family was that of the Thorntons and Wilberforces,¹ a number of whose scions had moved from Hull during the early years of the eighteenth century to settle in London, where they became prominent in the financial and commercial life of the City.² However, the family's connection with its town of origin remained strong. Samuel Thornton, whose brother, Robert (q.v.), became a director in 1787, and William Wilberforce, the philanthropist, his cousin, both sat in the House for Hull. By 1749, John Thornton, a London merchant, had entered the East India Direction. He was followed in 1753 by his cousin, William Wilberforce (q.v.), and in 1759 by Wilberforce's cousin, William Thornton (-Astell) (q.v.). The Thornton-Wilberforce family seems to have been involved in the Company's cloth interest, probably in the purchase of imported merchandise for re-export,

1. C.f. Appendix 2.

2. The monopoly of the East India trade in the hands of the Company caused periodic bouts of opposition from the outports, and the exclusion of the provincial merchants may have forced certain families to contemplate moving to London to establish a foot-hold in the trade, as with the Thornton-Wilberforce group. Perhaps similarly, Richard Gildart (q.v.), son of a Liverpool ship-owner and slave merchant, set up in London, becoming a Company director with connections among fellow-directors from families of long-established interest in the East India trade. Such tendencies towards centralisation in trade, typical of the period, can also be seen in the move of cloth dealers to the City, as discussed already.

as the Hull-based section of the family was prominent in the export of cloth to the Baltic.¹ However, like other merchant families of the period, they were moving into finance. Wilberforce's (q.v.) uncles, Robert and Godfrey Thornton, were both directors of the Bank. from 1732 to 1748, and from 1748 to 1752, respectively, while William Thornton (-Astell) (q.v.) was by 1763 underwriting Treasury loans, and became a director of the Sun Fire insurance office. The solidarity of the family was emphasised by the marital habits of its members, both Wilberforce and Thornton (-Astell) (qq.v.) marrying cousins.

After a gap during the 1770's, when the family was not represented in the Direction, Robert Thornton (q.v.), son of a cousin of Wilberforce and Thornton (-Astell) (qq.v.), was elected in 1787, and continued in the Direction until 1814. Meanwhile, William Thornton-Astell, nephew of the earlier director of that name, had entered in 1800, continuing until 1845, and was succeeded by his son, John Harvey Astell in 1851, who remained a director until the demise of the Company in 1858. The family had thus been represented in the India Direction for over a century.

Hereditary tendencies in the Direction were to be expected, particularly in the first half of the century, when there was little opposition from the proprietors to the directors' choice of successors, and when the areas of Company business, such as shipping,² or the supply of merchandise, were monopolised by a

1. Gordon Jackson, Hull in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Economic and Social History (London, 1972), p. 51.

2. C.f. Chapter 4.

number of families and business cliques, whose compactness was reinforced by inter-marriage. It was important for a family business with vested interests in any area of the East India trade to be represented in the Direction, but more specifically to have some influence in the Company committee dealing with its particular sphere of interest. Thus, the needs of his family interests demanded that John Pardoe, son of the director of that name (q.v.), and who had never before contemplated standing for the Direction, should consider such a move in 1788, as his father was 'in so indifferent a State of Health as obliged him to wave all thoughts of again offering his Services for the Direction'.¹

In the pre-1760 period it was fairly common for a son to succeed his father in the Direction, or for one partner to follow another. Besides the Huguenot directors already mentioned, Thomas Rous (q.v.) entered the Direction three years after the retirement of his uncle, and business associate, Sir William Rous, a former Company chairman, and was succeeded himself, in 1773, by his son, Thomas Bates Rous (q.v.); Peter Godfrey (q.v.) had been preceded by his father of the same name, and Whichcott Turner (q.v.) by his brother, Edward Turner, a director from 1717 to 1723; William Rider (q.v.) entered the Direction in 1754 on the retirement of his brother-in-law, Sir William Baker, and was succeeded himself, in 1755, by his partner, Charles Chambers, senior (q.v.).

Since the families dominating the Company's shipping

1. Sandwich MSS., F40/39: John Pardoe, jr. to Lord Sandwich, 25 Augt. 1788.

concerns are dealt with in a later chapter, it will be necessary only to mention their names to complete the picture of family tradition in the membership of the Direction in this early period. Henry Crabb Boulton (q.v.) had been preceded by his cousin, Richard Boulton, a director from 1718 to 1738; Captain Charles Gough (q.v.), member of one of the families monopolising Company shipping in the period, had been preceded by his uncle, Sir Richard Gough, director from 1713 to 1720, and, on his own election in 1749, joined his cousin and brother, who had been directors from the early 1730's; John Raymond (q.v.), likewise from a family in the shipping oligarchy, entered the Direction in 1757 to replace his cousin, Jones Raymond (q.v.), who had been a director from 1734. The family's marine concerns in the Company were represented after John Raymond's retirement in 1760 by William Webber (q.v.), a close family friend, and confidant of Charles Raymond, manager of the family's shares in the ownership of East India shipping.¹

Such hereditary tendencies did not wholly disappear with the onset of the troubled period of Company politics from the 1760's, and some families, such as the Thornton-Wilberforces, were able to reinstate themselves after an absence of some years. However, those succeeding to places in the Direction had by necessity to change with the times, and align themselves with one or other of the new factions at East India House. Inability to cope with the new situation cost a

1. For the career of Charles Raymond, the most powerful ship's husband of his time, c.f. Chapter 4.

number of directors seats which they could have confidently expected to retain in the previous decade. Though Christopher Burrow (q.v.) was a director of long experience, and established reputation, in the Company, he could not guarantee his son, Robert (q.v.), a secure seat in the Direction. By choosing to join the party of Laurence Sullivan on entering the Direction in 1762, Burrow backed a losing horse, and was 'thrown out' in April 1765;¹ Charles Chambers, junior, succeeded his father in the family wine business, and in the Company Direction in 1770, but, despite manoeuvring between parties, could not recover his seat after 1773, having alienated the influential, and increasingly dominant, Ministerial faction. Others had more success: Peter Du Cane (q.v.), whose father had been a director in the 'fifties, ensured his continuance in the Directorate by maintaining connections with both the rival parties of the time, and, as a consequence, by being 'double-listed' in elections; Charles Mills (q.v.), who replaced his brother, William (q.v.), to administer the family banking firm's East Indian interests, and Robert Thornton (q.v.), whose family has already been discussed, ensured their elections, and continuance in the Direction, by supporting the Ministerial party, and by obeying the dictates of Henry Dundas.

Thus, though the emergence of new factions in the Direction, such as the 'East Indians',² or the rise to power of existing interests, such as the shipping bloc,³ tended to

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1. C.f. Robert Burrow (q.v.).
 2. C.f. Chapter 3.
 3. C.f. Chapter 4.

overshadow the continuing mercantile basis of the Direction, the more tenacious of the old families, and those readiest to adapt to the new political scene, managed to maintain influence in the Directorate. Hereditary tendencies are still visible at the end of the period, most obviously in the case of the Thornton-Wilberforce family, but also in the continuing number of directors whose sons followed them in the Direction: Inglis, Lushington, William Mills, Money, Parry and Scott (qq.v.) were succeeded by their sons,¹ while Williams (q.v.) was followed by his nephew, Robert Williams, a director from 1809 to 1812. It is perhaps significant, however, that though the tendency towards family succession continued, the types of family represented had changed since the pre-1760 era: the Scotts represent the new private trading interest, opposed to the Company's monopoly, and the oligarchic control of the traditional interests in the Direction; Lushington and Inglis had entered the Direction as 'East Indians', and not as scions of old mercantile families; and Parry was a self-made man, a former Navy agent, and representative of the first generation of his family to enter the East India Directorate.

1. John Inglis, director from 1803 to 1822; James Law Lushington, 1827 to 1858; Charles Mills, 1822 to 1858; William Taylor Money, 1818 to 1826; Richard Parry, 1815 to 1817 (an Edward Parry was also a director from 1797 to 1827); David Scott, junior, 1814 to 1820.

CHAPTER 3

The advent of the 'East Indians' and the eclipse of the 'Old' Direction.

In the years after 1760 the period of tranquillity in the relations of the directors and proprietors, the Company and the Government, and among the directors themselves, came to an end. Competition for control of the Directorate between rival 'lists' in elections, and the greater interference of the General Court in the running of the Company, became the norm. The underlying reason behind the new situation was a change in the Company's role in the East, more specifically in Bengal, where, by 1765, following a series of palace revolutions, the Company's servants were de facto rulers, were promising limitless revenues to the directors and proprietors, and were themselves returning to Britain with large fortunes.

The new situation in Bengal dated from Clive's defeat of Siraj-ud-daula in 1757, when, in a period of declining Mogul power, he was able to set up a new Nawab, ostensibly more amenable to the Company's interests. In the ensuing years, Clive's appointee was replaced by the nominee of Governor Henry Vansittart (q.v.), who, though initially prepared to grant the Company more trading concessions than his predecessor, eventually attempted to throw off the Company yoke, only to be forcibly unseated in favour of Mir Ja'far, the Nawab he had earlier replaced. On the accession of Ja'far's son, and with the Company's main European rivals in India, the French, defeated, Clive took another step towards full control of the country by assuming the revenue administration of Bengal for

the Company, though leaving its collection in the hands of the Nawab's officers, so instituting his 'dual system', where the real power of the Company was masked by the facade of a native officialdom.

In these years a number of Company servants made fortunes by taking advantage of the gratitude of Nawabs they had set up, by employing the Company's trading privileges to extend their private business ventures, and by exploiting their new role as administrators of revenue. For all, an interest at East India House became vital, whether to safeguard unliquidated assets in the East, to protect the interests of colleagues still in the Company's service in India, or to push their own prospects of promotion. The growing involvement of 'East Indians' in Company politics was an important factor contributing to the factionalism and political intrigue of the 1760's. However, though the fortunes and activities of the Bengal servants in these years brought the 'Nabobs' to the notice of the public, the process of 'East Indian' intervention in Company affairs, and their growing influence in the Direction, had been proceeding throughout the previous decade, but, until the early 'sixties, in a less spectacular manner.

CHAPTER 3: PART 1.

The 'Bombay faction'.

The entry of returned Company servants into the Direction was not a new phenomenon. Senior servants, usually governors, had occasionally appeared in small numbers. Richard Benyon, formerly governor of Madras, became a director in 1745, and Edward Harrison, also governor of that settlement from 1711 to 1717, sat in the Direction from 1718 to 1731, being chosen chairman on three occasions. However, by the 1750's and 1760's, with the expansion of the Company's responsibilities in the sub-continent, there arose a recognition of the need for men of Indian experience in a Direction traditionally composed of City merchants. This was appreciated particularly by the Company's servants in India who realised the inadequacies of the predominantly City-based Directorate. On hearing of the election to the chair in 1758 of Laurence Sullivan (q.v.), formerly of the Bombay service, Clive expressed his approval:

It has given me much pleasure to hear M^r. Sullyvan is at the Head of the Direction, much more may be expected from one who has laid the foundation of his Knowledge in India, than from those who have no experience but what they have picked up in the City of London. 1

Similar sentiments were expressed by Harry Verelst (q.v.) of the Bengal service, who was 'firmly of opinion that the Company's affairs would stand a better chance of success were more

1. N.L.W., MS. 200, p. 173: Robert Clive to Stephen Law, 29 Decr. 1758.

of their old Servants introduced into the Direction'.¹

Thus by 1754 two servants of experience had been brought into the Direction - Stephen Law (q.v.), formerly governor of Bombay, and William Barwell (q.v.), lately governor in Bengal - both of whom had returned to England after sacrificing the directors' favour, but who had evidently succeeded in clearing their names with the Court. In 1757 the influential director, John Payne (q.v.), who, until then, had relied for much of his information about events in the East on correspondents in India, took the opportunity to bring in the recently returned governor of Madras, Thomas Saunders (q.v.), who, by all accounts, was reckoned able and experienced. Frederick Pigou's (q.v.) potential value to the directors as a source of information on the China trade seems also to have played a part in his election in 1758. Pigou, a supercargo, resigned in July 1757, and, having intimated his 'Inability to do the Company further Service abroad, and his readiness to do it to the utmost of his power here',² was brought into the Directorate in the following April.

However, it would be wrong to talk too early of a distinct 'East Indian' group in the Direction. Law, though a servant of twenty-seven years experience in the East, came from a City mercantile background, his uncle and patron, Samuel Pugh, being a mercer with connections in the Company's 'cloth interest'. Law himself is noted in 1744, after his return, with Brice Fisher, the Blackwell Hall factor, as sureties for a Company

1. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 606 (no foliation): Harry Verelst to Richard Gough, 30 Novr. 1763.

2. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/74, p. 426.

supercargo.¹ Barwell, too, belonged to a City background, his sureties on joining the Company being ironmongers.²

Of the other directors in these years with any Indian experience, the supercargoes illustrate such continuing links with the City. At least six of the seven supercargoes who became directors in the pre-1760 period were from families involved in business with the Company, and returned to the same commercial background on their return from the East.³ Thus, a fitting comparison would seem to be with the members of the Levant Company, who traded with the Near East, exporting large amounts of cloth, and sending their sons abroad as factors to handle the sale of goods in Aleppo or Smyrna, where they were expected to gather experience of the trade, and to amass sufficient capital from private ventures to establish themselves in business on their return;⁴ or, like the City merchants trading to the Continent, such as the Bosanquets and Dorriens, who sent the younger family members to Amsterdam or Hamburg as part of their apprenticeship, and to get a start in commerce. The East India supercargoes formed no distinct group in the Directorate, but merged easily with their fellow London merchants.

Thus Peter Godfrey (q.v.), on his return from the East,

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1. I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/67, p. 502.
 2. Sir William Foster, 'William Barwell Governor of Fort William 1748-1749', B.P.P., vol. 27 (Jany.-March 1924), p. 36.
 3. The seven were: Christopher Burrow, Godfrey, Hadley, Samuel Harrison, Pigou, Plant and Turner (qq.v.).
 4. Ralph Davis, Aleppo and Devonshire Square: English Traders in the Levant in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1967), pp. 66, 80-81.

set up in business in London, eventually rising to prominence in insurance, and in the underwriting of Treasury loans; Burrow (q.v.), whose experience as a supercargo had been with the South Sea Company, Pigou, Plant and Harrison (qq.v.), whose patron was a cloth merchant, all came from City families, and established themselves as merchants, insurers or bankers on retiring from the Company service. Whichcott Turner's (q.v.) career compares with that of any Levant factor. His father and brothers were cloth suppliers to the East India Company, and therefore possessed sufficient influence to procure for him the post of supercargo in 1716. After spending a number of years in Canton, he settled as a cloth merchant in London by the 1740's, and entered the East India Direction, never really having discarded his City, and family, allegiances for ties born of his Eastern service.

The period from 1754 to the end of the decade shows no great increase in the number of 'East Indians' entering the Direction.¹ However, the significance for the future lay in the Indian backgrounds of the newcomers, rather than in their collective strength. Of the five directors in 1758 and 1759 who had been members of the Company's civil branch, four had seen service in Bombay, the most important for future Company politics being Laurence Sullivan (q.v.). It is to a 'Bombay faction' that contemporary comment was directed when referring to the emergence of the first organised 'East Indian' party

1. Exclusive of supercargoes, 2 'East Indians' were directors in 1754, 3 in 1755, and 4 in 1756, 1757, 1758, 1759 and 1760.

of the period.¹

The more immediate cause of the 'faction's' appearance can be found in the Indian career of Stephen Law (q.v.), lately governor in Bombay. Though Law had undoubted connections with the traditional City interests in the Direction, he was assiduous in his use of patronage, formerly to assist the careers of junior servants under his government, and, in England, to promote the fortunes of friends still in India, or members of their families seeking appointments with the Company, and thereby built up a network of connections, both in Bombay, and among 'East Indian' associates in London. Of the four 'Bombay' directors in 1758 and 1759, Sullivan and Dudley (qq.v.) had benefitted directly from his help in India, the latter making provision in his will for Law, in remembrance of his 'favours ... in the East Indies'.² Sullivan, undoubtedly the most influential, and one of the longest serving directors in the period 1754 to 1790, owed much to Law's assistance while a junior servant in Bombay lacking connections in London. His abilities were recognised by Law, and by his predecessor in the Bombay government, John Horne, and, in March 1740, he had been appointed factor at Law's recommendation. Returning to London, he established a business handling remittances from Company servants in India, many of whom were his old associates in the East, and connections of the 'Bombay faction'.

Of the two other 'Bombay' directors in 1758 and 1759, Thomas Waters (q.v.) had, like Sullivan, gone out to India

1. Holwell, p. 156.

2. C.f. George Dudley (q.v.).

without a Company appointment, but had been taken under the wing of Governor Charles Boone, who employed him as a secretary, and helped arrange his employment by the Company. Waters had business interests in common with Governor Horne, Sullivan's early patron, and with him stood surety for Sullivan on his appointment to the rank of factor in 1742. The other director of Bombay experience, Henry Savage (q.v.), had risen to council status, and had served on diplomatic missions to 'country powers' with Sullivan in India. Both men had returned to England in the same ship in 1753.

Though the maturity of the 'Bombay faction' was largely attributable to Law, who would seem to have helped bring Dudley, Savage, Sullivan and Waters into the Direction, the Company records show that there had existed for a long time a co-operative relationship among the servants of the settlement and their families, at home and in Bombay, with returned servants standing surety for colleagues and younger members of families joining the service, acting as attornies, or handling remittances for connections in Bombay.¹ In a small, but very prosperous, settlement such as Bombay, the close inter-relationship of family and business ties was inevitable.²

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1. Though such tendencies were true of the Company populations of Madras and Fort William also, the cohesion of the Bombay servants led to the appearance of the first distinct 'East Indian' party in the Direction.
 2. James Forbes, arriving in Bombay in 1766, described it as 'one of the first marts in India', from where Company servants, on their own accounts, could carry on a 'trade with all the principal sea-ports, and interior cities of the peninsula of India; and extend their commerce to the Persian and Arabian gulphs, the coast of Africa, Malacca, China, and the eastern islands' (James Forbes, Oriental Memoirs (London, 1813), vol. 1, pp. 22, 153).

There may also have been a tradition of 'Bombay' representation in Company circles in London, with a string of the settlement's governors returning to become City merchants dealing with the Company, directors, or Members of Parliament, in the first half of the century.¹

By the late 1750's, however, the 'Bombay faction' included not only directors who had served in that settlement.² Thomas Phipps (q.v.), son of a former governor of Bombay, and who may have been born there, had continuing ties with Law's, and Sullivan's, circle through the career of his cousin, Brabazon Ellis, a Bombay servant, whose sureties on promotion to council rank were Sullivan and Captain Samuel Hough.³ Henry Plant (q.v.) may have had dealings with Law while both men were in the East. He refers to Law in his will as one of his 'good friends', and named Thomas Phipps, of whom he also spoke highly, as an executor.⁴ Also listed with the 'faction' was Captain Timothy Tullie (q.v.), whose obvious affiliations might be expected to have been to the Company's shipping bloc, but whose family had a long tradition of service with the Company, while he had spent a number of years as a 'free merchant' in Madras. He was on good terms with Sullivan, whom he named as an executor

1. William Aislabie, governor, 1708-15, and East India director, 1719-25; Charles Boone, governor, 1715-20, director, 1729-34, and M.P. for Ludgershall, 1727-34; William Phipps, governor, 1720-28, and cloth supplier to the Company; Sir Robert Cowan, governor, 1729-34, M.P. for Tregony, 1737.

2. Holwell listed the faction as: Dudley, Godfrey, Gough, Phipps, Plant, Rous, Savage, Sullivan and Tullie (Holwell, p. 156).

3. Hough, formerly marine superintendent in Bombay, became a ship's husband and confidant of Sullivan in Company shipping circles.

4. C.f. Henry Plant (q.v.).

in his will of 1758. Other members of the 'faction' seem to have been included by Holwell as supporters of Sullivan's party in the Direction, without necessarilyⁱ having such obvious Bombay connections as those already mentioned, though Peter Godfrey (q.v.) was concerned with the career of one of Sullivan's 'East Indian' associates in Bengal.

The first major outbreak of party conflict in the Direction directly involving the 'East Indian' party occurred in 1757 following reports of hostilities with Siraj-ud-daula, his defeat by Clive, and of the pusillanimity of the senior servants at Fort William during the Nawab's siege of the fort. Dispute broke out in the Direction over the choice of governor for the settlement. The older directors, led by the City merchant, John Payne (q.v.), unfamiliar with the Bengal situation, and, in the light of the recent behaviour of their most senior servants, were unwilling to entrust full government power to any one individual, and proposed an unwieldy system of rotation, whereby those councillors who had not disgraced themselves would hold the government for stipulated periods in succession. The 'East Indian' directors, however, with connections in Bengal to serve, favoured the choice of a single governor, whom they found in William Watts, a Bengal councillor closely connected with Sullivan and Godfrey, leaders of the 'Bombay faction'. Moreover, the opponents of Payne's scheme were unhappy not only with its impracticability, but also with one of the proposed heads of government, Zephaniah Holwell. Holwell, who had made his name as one of the few reputed survivors of the 'Black Hole' episode, would thus have been superseding more senior servants. He had endeared himself to the

directors by his apparent courage, and dedication to the Company's interests, while alienating the 'East Indians' by his condemnation of the behaviour of fellow-servants during the fighting with Siraj-ud-daula. In his support for Holwell, Payne was evincing the traditional attitude of the Company to its servants in the East, with the emphasis on total commitment to the interests of the Company, overriding any concern for the private ventures of its servants.¹

When news of Clive's intention to remain in Bengal reached London, both sides agreed that he should be sole governor. However, when the question of his successor was broached, and the rotation idea was once more proposed, the 'Bombay faction' was successful in having the motion defeated in the General Court. The contest now focused on the election of April 1758, with Payne's party proposing Holwell as successor, and Sullivan's group backing Watts. The ensuing election campaign was not only significant for the future in setting a precedent for the competition of rival 'lists' of candidates, but also in the methods adopted by the 'Bombay' party to amass sufficient support to swing the election. Though the widespread 'splitting' of stock to create votes was not a feature of this election, canvassing on an unheralded scale by Law and his lieutenants went on, while Payne's party relied solely 'upon the Justice of ... [its] cause & neglecting 'till within 2 days any material application, w^{ch} the New Gentry had been very privately making for so many Weeks'.² Holwell considered the

1. For fuller discussion of this theme, c.f. Chapter 6.

2. I.O.L., Orme MSS., O.V. 293, p. 103: John Payne to Robert Orme, 30 Octr. 1758.

pre-election activities of Sullivan's partisans as dishonourable in every respect:

Their General [Law] took up his residence, in a manner, for many days in the City, and went about begging single votes, in which he was most industriously followed by his Mirmidons; whilst the majority of 15, conscious of the propriety and integrity of their own conduct, made it a point to speak to a Proprietor on the subject. 1

The election results of 1758 marked the beginning of Laurence Sullivan's hegemony over the Company, which was to last until the weakening of his control in the elections of 1763 and 1764, and defeat in 1765. However, after April 1758, there still remained a nucleus of old directors who opposed, though unsuccessfully, the move by Sullivan's party to remove Holwell from the line of succession to the Bengal government.² In subsequent years, these directors either allied with Sullivan, such as Dorrien, Browne, Raymond and Steevens (qq.v.), or dropped out to allow in an influx of directors loyal to the new master at East India House. The Direction underwent extensive changes in personnel in the following two years. In 1758, four new directors were elected,³ while, in the next year, the unusually high number of ten directors entered for the first time.⁴ Older directors, colleagues of Payne, either stood down permanently, or did not re-enter the Directorate for some years until Sullivan's power was on the wane. For Impey, Western and Payne

1. Holwell, p. 158.

2. Browne, Burrow, Dorrien, Drake, Hadley, Newnham and John Raymond (qq.v.) (Holwell, p. 167).

3. John Harrison, Pigou, Rooke and Steevens (qq.v.).

4. Baron, Barrington, Bosanquet, Gildart, Samuel Harrison, Seward, Richard Smith, Thornton (-Astell), Walton and Waters (qq.v.).

(qq.v.), who were all defeated in 1758, there was no re-election to the Directorate,¹ while Chambers and Jones (qq.v.) did not return until the mid-1760's. Perhaps, like Payne, they were disillusioned by the turn Company affairs had taken. He wrote in October 1758:

I am now in a much better State of Health than I was this Time twelvemonth, and I think My self infinitely happier for the Mortifications I received in the Months of March & April, as they have furnished me with the Fairest Opportunity I could wish ... for becoming once more my own Master, & disengageing mySelf from a Service I ever found most Irksome, & lately the most ungrateful. 2

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1. Impey later changed parties, and contested the Direction without success.
 2. I.O.L., Orme MSS., O.V. 293, p. 105: John Payne to Robert Orme, 30 Octr. 1758.

'East Indians' from Bengal and Madras.

Though the growing participation in Company affairs by the late 1750's of the 'East Indians' was characterised by the activities of the 'Bombay faction', the pattern of the succeeding decades was to be different. Sullivan continued to dominate the Company through his personal following in the Direction, and the infra-structure of the 'Bombay' group, with its connections in the presidencies and with powerful interest groups at East India House, such as the shipping bloc,¹ but the 'East Indians' returning in the 1760's to play a part in Company politics, and to colour popular imagination by their wealth, were increasingly of Bengal background, for the reasons already indicated.

However, despite the fulminations of those in the Company, such as Holwell, who fell foul of 'Indian' influence in the Direction, and despite public impression, the returning servants were not to have a great impact on the composition of the Directorate. Though the number of former Company 'civil' servants taking places in the Direction seemed to be rising during the 'sixties, with five in 1761, and reaching a high-point of seven in 1766, the rise to seven in this last year is not indicative of a sudden influx of 'Nabobs', since Barwell, Dudley, Saunders and Savage (qq.v.) had been directors from the 1750's, the only newly returned 'Indians' being Du Pré,

1. C.f. Chapter 4.

Scrafton and Cruttenden (qq.v.). A study of the composition of the Directorate in the next decade provides a similar picture, when, even taking account of 'free merchants', a maximum of seven 'East Indians' was reached in 1771,¹ with as few as three in 1773,² while for the former figure the same qualifying remarks as for 1766 apply.

A number of reasons may account for the relative paucity of 'Indians' in the Directorate compared with their strength in the General Court. The 'Nabobs' were becoming increasingly unpopular in public opinion, mainly through the extravagance and arrogance of a minority of their number, and from the impression that they were helping to corrupt, not only Company, but also national politics by their wealth. There was also growing public and Parliamentary concern over the dubious activities of the Company's servants in India coming to light particularly with the Parliamentary enquiries of the early 1770's. This unpopularity seems to have had its effect on the desirability of 'East Indians' as directors, outweighing the potential value of their Indian experience for the Company's administration. John Walsh, agent for Robert Clive, whose wealth was being utilised on a colossal scale to influence Company elections, wrote to him before the 1765 election:

This leads me to observe that our Directors boggle much at introducing East Indians and I think I have observed in them a tendency towards excluding those in particular who are most attached to you. 3

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1. Cruttenden, Dudley, Gregory, Hurlock, Savage, Sullivan, Verelst (qq.v.).
 2. Boddam, Hurlock and Savage (qq.v.).
 3. I.O.L., Home Misc. Ser., 808, p. 232: John Walsh to Robert Clive, 5 April 1765.

Following the reports of the Parliamentary Select and Secret Committees, Lord North's Regulating Act prescribed that no Company servant could be eligible for the Direction until two years after his return to England, thus allowing time for any enquiry to be made into his conduct.¹ However, this could be circumvented by any well-connected servant by procuring a pardon from the directors, and the real reason for so few 'Nabobs' in the Direction would seem to lie in the attitude of the 'East Indians' themselves. Those who had made fortunes in this period had generally contravened the directors' regulations at some stage of their Indian career, and, given the climate of opinion at home which was increasingly hostile to 'Nabobs', seem to have preferred to stay out of the limelight, contenting themselves with the preservation of their interests by working through the General Court, or, if possible, by maintaining a nominee in the Direction.

Of those who became directors during the 1760's, the most obvious group consisted of those giving allegiance to Clive, who entered Company politics in this period in opposition to Sullivan.² Like Sullivan in the late 1750's, Clive relied on former Indian colleagues for support, men of Madras and Bengal backgrounds, particularly the latter group, who were already becoming involved in Company affairs as a recognisable party, hostile to Sullivan with his predisposition to favour his

1. Reports from Committees of the House of Commons. Re-printed by Order of the House. Vol. vi. East Indies-1783: Ninth Report, p. 47.

2. For fuller treatment of the clash between Clive and Sullivan in Company politics at this time, c.f. Sutherland (1), pp. 81-137.

Bombay connections, and ready to ally with Thomas Rous (q.v.), Sullivan's enemy from 1762.¹ Clive observed in November:

There is a terrible storm brewing against the next general election [of directors]. Sullivan, who is out of the direction this year, is strongly opposed by Rous and his party and by part, if not all, of the East Indians (particularly the Bengalees) and matters are carried to such lengths that either Sullivan or Rous must give way. 2

Clive threw in his lot with Rous early in 1763, and, in succeeding years, a number of his 'East Indian' confidants entered the Direction. Thomas Saunders (q.v.), his early patron in Madras, returned to the Direction under his aegis. Saunders was joined by the newcomers, Luke Scrafton (q.v.), a Bengal servant who had been deeply involved with Clive in the intrigues preceding the establishment of Mir Ja'far as Nawab in 1757; by Edward Holden Cruttenden (q.v.), also of Bengal, and whose brother-in-law, Robert Cliffe, was Clive's banker; and by Robert Gregory (q.v.), lately a 'free merchant' in Bengal, where he had met, and impressed, Clive. Du Pré (q.v.), who had served with Clive in Madras, was also elected, on the understanding that he would support Clive's party in the Direction.

The existence of the 'Bombay faction' behind Sullivan, and of the 'Bengalees' in support of Clive and Rous, is indicative of the growing heterogeneity of the 'East Indian' parties in the Company, and of the possibilities of friction between them. There existed within the general 'East Indian' framework

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1. E.g. Henry Vansittart (q.v.), from Madras, Bengal governor, 1760-64, and John Spencer, of Bombay, Bengal governor, 1764-65, were both Sullivan's nominees, and brought in over the heads of Bengal servants.
 2. Malcolm, vol. 2, p. 197: Robert Clive to Henry Vansittart, 22 Novr. 1762.

certain circles, whose members were linked by common service in particular Company settlements, as has been seen in the case of the 'Bombay faction'. Such loyalties were generated by the close family and business ties obtaining among Company men of one presidency, and by jealousies between settlements, such as the envy of the Bombay servants in the period after the 1760's, when their brethren in Bengal and Madras had better opportunities to make vast and rapid fortunes. Hostility between presidencies might be stimulated by the policies of partisan groups in the Direction, such as Sullivan's transferring Spencer and Vansittart to Bengal. Sullivan's predilection for his own connections as directors or governors was causing unrest by the early 'sixties, and was noted by Clive:

Sullivan is the reigning director, and he follows the same plan of keeping everyone out of the direction who is endowed with more knowledge or would be likely to have more weight and influence than himself. This kind of political behaviour has exasperated most of the gentlemen who are lately come from India, particularly those from Bengal. 1

There is evidence that servants of the older tradition, whose Indian experience pre-dated the explosive years of the early 1760's in Bengal, distrusted the new generation of 'Nabobs'. John Spencer, originally a Bombay servant, but who was transferred by Sullivan to Bengal in 1764, reflected this feeling when he advised Sullivan against trusting any servants from Bengal, as they were all prone to factionalism and intrigue.² Older servants, like Sullivan, Dudley, Savage or

1. Davies, pp. 342-343: Robert Clive to John Pybus, [c. 1761].
2. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., E302/1, p. 18: John Spencer to Laurence Sullivan, 27 Sept. 1764.

Waters (qq.v.), were brought up in a presidency where, and in an era when, emphasis was placed on the maintenance of harmonious relations with 'country powers' on whose good will the Company depended for the continuance of its trade, and on the recognition of the rights of local rulers, most powerful of whom were the Marathas whose power was greater than that of the later Bengal Nawabs, and therefore demanded greater respect on the part of the Company. Sullivan and Savage had experience of long negotiations with the Marathas for the maintenance of good relations. All his life Sullivan felt bound to respect the rights of the Nawab of the Carnatic, the Company's 'faithful Allie',¹ while Savage, even in old age, in the affair of the Company's relations with the Raja, Chait Singh, believed that the Company was 'bound by a solemn Trust to demand nothing from Cheyt Sing beyond his stipulated Tribute'.²

However, the palace revolutions of the 'sixties in Bengal gave a new generation of servants different attitudes to the Company's situation in the East. 'King-makers' like Clive and his lieutenants might be expected to have less respect for Indian rulers, whose subordinates the Company servants had once been, but who had now become puppets of the British. Directors who had been associated with Clive, or who had served under him, and whose attitude to the Company's role in the East was geared to the new situation in Bengal, tended to reflect

1. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. hist., c472, f. 4: Laurence Sullivan to Stephen Sullivan, 27 Feby. 1778.

2. B.L., Add. MSS., 29155, ff. 230-230^v: John Scott to Warren Hastings, 29 July 1782.

his ideas on the best form of government in the East. Luke Scrafton (q.v.), who was vested with full control of the 'Indian correspondence' under Thomas Rous (q.v.),¹ was a convinced exponent of Clive's 'dual system', and did all in his power to support Clive's plans when he returned to India for his second period of government. He confided to Clive:

The power too in your Lordship to establish such Regulations for the Select Committee as you think proper on your departure was of my doing, & carries with it the latent meaning of checking your Successor in what manner you please. 2

Other disciples of Clive, Becher and Verelst (qq.v.), experts in the Bengal revenue system, and the latter of whom was felt to consider Clive 'the greatest Man that ever existed, consequently all his Systems infallible',³ tried to uphold Clive's ideas on revenue collection in the late 'sixties, but were over-ruled by the Direction of 1769, in which Sullivan was once more playing a leading role, and forced to appoint Company collectors in place of the Nawab's officials, so allowing the Company to step out from behind the facade created by the 'dual system'.⁴

Thus behind the more overt hostility within the 'East Indian' enclave, between presidential factions, and between personalities, like Clive and Sullivan, may lie a more basic dichotomy in attitudes to the Company's role in the East. Older servants, once regarded as the 'new Gentry', were now

1. C.f. Luke Scrafton (q.v.).

2. N.L.W., MS. 52, pp. 182-183: Luke Scrafton to Robert Clive, 17 May 1766.

3. C.f. Harry Verelst (q.v.).

4. A.M. Khan, pp. 204-205.

perhaps unsuited to govern a Company moving towards territorial responsibilities, for which their own Indian experience offered scant training. Some also, lacking the prescience necessary for the administration of a Company in such a state of transition, seem to have been unwilling to accept the new situation, clinging to the old notion of the Company's role as that of a purely commercial organisation. Typifying this attitude, Sullivan wrote to William Pitt in 1761:

If I could not refute Dupleix's reasoning, that no trading concern can support itself, I should wish our trade to India at an end. 1

However, the new generation of 'East Indians' in the Direction, while basing their ideas of the Company's role on more recent experience of the Indian situation, were hampered by the circumstances of the Company political scene of the 'sixties and 'seventies. Dependent as they were on the support of Clive, or of any of the dominant factions in the Company, directors like Becher, Scrafton or Verelst could not act independently, and the period was characterised by the subservience of the good of the Company to the self-interest of individuals and parties at East India House.

1. Quoted in Cyril H. Philips, 'Clive in the English Political World, 1761-64', B.S.O.A.S., vol. 12 (1948), p. 700.

CHAPTER 3: PART 3

Particular 'East Indian' factions.

With the proliferation of parties at East India House, and the fragmentation of the 'East Indian' groups, a number of directors appear as representatives of individuals, or of small parties, whose members were either unwilling to stand for the Direction personally, or were still in India and desirous of an interest at the highest Company level. Thus members of the Direction appear as nominees of 'East Indian' sections of the General Court, though not necessarily of Indian experience themselves. Two such cases may be mentioned as illustrative of this trend.

Such a party was organised at East India House by the family and friends of John Johnstone, a Bengal servant of Scottish origin, who was charged with misconduct during the government of Henry Vansittart (q.v.), and subsequently dismissed by Clive. Johnstone's support in the General Court was organised by his brother, George Johnstone (q.v.), who could muster numerous followers from among his family and Scottish connections in the Company. George Dempster (q.v.), who stood for the Direction in 1765 for the first time, in opposition to Clive's party, interested himself initially in Company affairs to assist the Johnstones. The Johnstone faction played a significant part in contemporary political intrigue at East India House, in support of varying parties in Company elections as suited their interests at any particular time. However, the group's own concerns demanded representation in the Direction,

and, after coalescing with the supporters of other Company servants who had fallen foul of Clive, most notably Ralph Leicester, gave their assistance to Stephen Lushington (q.v.), Leicester's brother-in-law, who contested the Direction unsuccessfully in 1773 and 1774, eventually entering in 1784.

Also illustrative of Company factions organised in the interest of one man or one family was that of Richard Barwell,¹ a Bengal servant, whose pretensions to the Bengal government in the late 'sixties, and fears of dismissal after his appointment to the supreme council in 1773, because of his support for the governor-general, Warren Hastings, necessitated representation in the Direction. His interests at East India House were tended by his maiden sister, Mary Barwell, one of the rare examples of petticoat influence in Company affairs in the period. By the early 1770's Barwell, whose father had retired from the Directorate only a few years previously, in 1766, had determined to augment his sister's influence among the proprietors by arranging the election to the Direction of a nominee. His object was achieved in 1773 with the successful election of a family friend, the writer, John Hawkesworth (q.v.), whose potential contribution to the administration of the Company was negligible, and whose election was one of the most blatant examples of a director holding his place solely as the nominee

1. Richard Barwell (1741-1804): Barwell, son of William Barwell (q.v.), entered the Bengal service in 1757. By 1770 he was twelfth in council, and through the efforts of his sister in London was appointed to the newly established supreme council in 1773, in which role he supported Warren Hastings against Philip Francis and the 'majority'. He made a large fortune, estimated at £400,000 in 1780, by private trade and undertaking to supply salt and timber, concerns of dubious legality (Namier and Brooke, vol. 1, pp. 60-62).

and puppet of a faction of the General Court. Barwell, though circumspect about the value of such a representative, was none the less prepared to accept any chance of enhancing his standing in the Court. He told his sister:

Well-wishers to your brother [Barwell himself] you may possibly raise; but to push his pretensions he should have an active friend. How well adapted to the end Mr. Hawkesworth may prove I am not a judge ... the benefit to our family from Mr. Hawkesworth's becoming a Director at your instance (as you rightly observe) is doubtful, but ... I will enable my attorneys to furnish you with the means. 1

Of more use to Barwell were existing directors of weight in the Company, whose favour was cultivated by the tireless Mary Barwell, such as Purling, Savage and Colebrooke (qq.v.), to the last of whom he owed his appointment to the supreme council,² or directors, such as Bensley and Stables (qq.v.), who had known Barwell from their own Bengal days, and who were involved in his financial concerns.

Though the 'East Indian' elements in the Company were by this date heterogeneous, and often hostile, certain causes could bring the majority of the grouping together. Thus the defence of Warren Hastings, governor-general from 1773, from attempts of the North Ministry to engineer his recall brought together many 'East Indian' factions in the Company. Sullivan, leader of the Hastings party, was joined by the Johnstones, whose vociferous spokesman, George Johnstone (q.v.) had been opposed to him in former years; by 'Indians' traditionally linked

1. Lucy S. Sutherland, 'Two Letter-Books of Richard Barwell 1769-1773. Letter-Book 2', Indian Archives, vol. 8, no. 1 (1954), p. 14: Richard Barwell to Mary Barwell, 30 Sept. 1771.

2. Colebrooke, pt. 1, p. 225.

with Clive's party, such as Becher and Du Pr   (qq.v.); by the friends of Barwell, who was also under threat of dismissal; and by 'East Indians' such as Stables and Rumbold (qq.v.), whose allegiance was ostensibly to the Ministry, but whose ties with Hastings and Barwell, based on common service in the East, proved stronger.

In understanding the workings of the many 'East Indian' factions in the Company, stress must again be placed on the importance of family ties. The opportunities for directors to use their patronage to help family connections, the need for trust between attorneys and clients, agents and servants in India and England, and the closely-knit social structure of Company settlements accentuated the dependence of family members on one another. With the disintegration of Company politics into intrigue and factionalism during the 1760's, it was inevitable that such family ties would influence stances at East India House. A number of great 'East Indian' families came to be represented by different generations of their members in the Company, at home and in the East, with links extending to Government and City circles. One such extended family was that which included the Boddams, Boehms and Vansittarts.¹ The family's cohesion can be seen during the strife of the 'sixties, when Charles Boddam, his brother-in-law, Henry Vansittart (qq.v.), and Roger Boehm, son of Vansittart's attorney, and brother of the director, Edmund Boehm (q.v.), were candidates on Sullivan's 'lists' in elections. Vansittart's brother-in-law, Robert Palk, governor of

1. C.f. Appendix 2 for this, and other, 'East Indian' families.

Madras from 1763 to 1767, added his considerable weight to the Sullivan party's cause on his return.¹ The family's influence extended to India, where Palk was governor of Madras during the 1760's, Rawson Hart Boddam, brother of Charles, the director, was governor of Bombay from 1784, and another brother, Thomas, a Bengal councillor in the late 1750's, and where Vansittart's brother, George, was a member of the Bengal council after 1774.

Certain sections of the broader 'East Indian' classification remain to be considered. In 1769, for the first time in this period, a 'free merchant', Robert Gregory (q.v.), entered the Direction.² Such merchants enjoyed permission from the Company to trade on their own behalf in the Company settlements, and were not members of the service. Thus, though permission was needed, it was not necessary to have the personal relationship with a director which was the prerequisite of an appointment as writer or cadet. Though the opportunities for making a fortune could be good eventually, covering such areas as contracting to supply the armies of the various presidencies, or participating in the 'country trade' between India and China, connections with already established firms were vital for a successful start. Many got no further than owning shops in

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1. Even the female members were active in Company politics. Sullivan wrote to Palk before the 1775 election: 'My dear Sir, I hope you have seen Mrs. Morse [mother-in-law of Boddam and Vansittart] and Mrs. Van [-sittart], and have pressed them to obtain Mr. Boddam's solemn promise that he will vote for me to be upon the House list ...' (Hist. MSS. Comm. Palk, p. 245: Laurence Sullivan to Robert Palk, 12 Feby. 1775).
 2. Though Samuel Harrison, Cruttenden and Tullie (qq.v.) spent some years as 'free merchants', such pursuits took up only a part of their Indian careers.

one or other of the Company settlements, a fate that may have helped to render the life of a 'free merchant' less attractive, and therefore more readily obtainable, than an appointment with the Company. However, the four 'free merchants' to become directors in these years all made fortunes.¹ Certain merchants rose to positions of great power, particularly in Bombay, where both Scott and Hunter were based. By the second half of the century, an oligarchy of three firms dominated the presidency's commerce, and were powerful enough to assist the Company financially in times of difficulty, and to be referred to as the 'real rulers' of Bombay.² It is probably significant that of the four 'free merchants' who became directors, Inglis and Scott were Scots, Gregory was Irish, and Hunter was of obscure origin. While selection for the Company service was confined to the closely interconnected group of City families dominating the East India Company, particularly in the first half of the century, Scots, Irish and Welsh found it easier to reach India as sailors, adventurers or 'free merchants'.³ However, once established as merchants in India, such men became business connections of Company servants, and married into their families,⁴ so that, until the end of the period when a distinct private trading interest emerged in Company politics, returned 'free merchants'

1. Gregory, Hunter, Inglis and Scott (qq.v.).

2. Furber (2), p. 221.

3. C.f. the careers of Laurence Sullivan, an Irishman, and Sir William James (q.v.), a Welshman.

4. C.f. Hunter's connection with William Wake, governor of Bombay, 1742-1750.

joined hands with their fellow 'East Indians' at East India House.

Company servants, like 'free merchants', could undertake private trading ventures, and participate in the lucrative loans made to native rulers at extortionate rates of interest. From the 1760's, the Nawab of Arcot, in particular, was becoming increasingly indebted to the European inhabitants of the settlement, among whom figured a number of Company directors. The Nawab's need to borrow on a large scale seems to have been due initially to the demands of the Company on him after the Seven Years War, in which it was claimed he had been successfully defended from the French. To meet his obligations, the Nawab borrowed, granting assignments on his revenues to his creditors, and assignments on the revenues of lands he claimed from vassals, such as the Raja of Tanjore. As the Nawab's debts grew, his creditors organised themselves to better protect their interests in London and Madras, while similar, but smaller, parties, like the creditors of the Raja himself, did like-wise lest the Nawab seize the Tanjore lands to pay off his own debts. A climax was reached in 1776, when Governor George Pigot, a creditor of the Raja, upheld that prince's rights as an independent ruler, so casting in doubt the Nawab's right to make use of the Tanjore revenues. Pigot was consequently deposed by a majority of his council who were prominent creditors of the Nawab, and the ensuing events, during which Pigot died in captivity, had major repercussions at East India House, where the apologists of Pigot and of the rebel councillors struggled to prove the

rectitude of their case.¹

A number of directors who had been Company servants in Madras, such as Boddam (q.v.), or governors, such as Du Pré and Saunders (qq.v.), and others, like Hunter (q.v.), who had diverse financial interests in India, were creditors of the Nawab. Certain directors, such as Parry (q.v.), were also employed to represent the creditors' interests in London. The councillors who overthrew Pigot in 1776 could count on the support of their connections in the Direction. Hugh Inglis (q.v.), though not yet a director, acted for his cousin, Claud Russell, one of the rebel councillors, in the General Court, while Thomas Cheap (q.v.) defended the interests of his kinsman, General James Stuart, who had carried out Pigot's arrest. The most notorious of the Nawab's creditors, Paul Benfield,² was represented on the Direction by the City merchant, and Government contractor, Richard Atkinson (q.v.), who, it was rumoured, was largely responsible for mobilising the wealth of the so-called 'Arcot interest' behind Pitt's general election campaign in 1784, as a reward for which support the legality of the Nawab's debts was recognised by the new Ministry, and provision made to have them paid off.³

The Raja of Tanjore's creditors were also represented at East India House, in the Direction by Thomas Bates Rous (q.v.), and in the General Court by his brother, George Rous, pamphleteer and apologist for Pigot, and who wrote in the Press in

1. For fuller treatment of the subject of the Nawab's debts, c.f. J.D. Gurney, 'The Debts of the Nawab of Arcot, 1763-1776' (Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis 1968).

2. For Benfield's career, c.f. Namier and Brooke, vol. 1, pp. 81-82.

3. Philips (1), pp. 36-41.

1778 in support of the directors' move to legitimise the Raja's status as an independent ruler.¹ The boundaries of the two factions of creditors were not always clearly defined, however. Besides the money he had tied up in the Nawab's debts, Du Pre was also a creditor of the Raja, and went back to Madras in 1769 as governor with the intention of recovering his, and his friend, George Pigot's, dues from that ruler.

There were other reasons why 'East Indians' strove to secure seats in the Company Directorate. In the case of Harry Verelst (q.v.), it would seem to have been a move to facilitate the defence of his actions as governor of Bengal, just as Clive and Rumbold (q.v.) used their seats in Parliament for the same purpose. Others saw a directorship as a step towards attaining higher office in India. That such a practice was common,² is indicated by the determination shown by one group of proprietors to stamp it out in 1774:

A very considerable number of Proprietors, who intend to discourage as much as possible the East India Direction as the road to Governments abroad, and who intend to vote for such Gentlemen only as mean to serve the full term in their respective Classes, desire to know from Mr. [William] James [q.v.] whether in offering himself as a Candidate for the three Year Class they are to consider him as having relinquished all thoughts of offering himself for the Government of Bombay. 3

Occasionally it was necessary for a director of Indian

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1. C.f. Thomas Bates Rous (q.v.).
 2. C.f. Du Pre and Rumbold (qq.v.).
 3. I.O:L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, pp. 10-11.

experience to accept a post in India as a means of restoring shattered finances. Sullivan, Scrafton and Vansittart (qq.v.), who all suffered in the stock slump after the 1769 election, were prepared to return to the East, though Sullivan was by now an old man. There seems to have been little thought of such a move as a lowering of social position, from director to servant, the possibilities of making a fortune inherent in the office of governor, or the effects of financial exigency, as in the case of Becher (q.v.) in 1780, outweighing any concern about downgrading in the Company. This fact was emphasised by the willingness of directors of City background, such as Wheler and Ewer (qq.v.), to obtain Indian appointments, in order to restore fortunes, or to tend to financial interests their firms might have in the East.

Competition in the Direction for governorships in the East was not confined to those who had served in the Company's civil branch. Two former members of the Company's military establishments in India became directors in this period, and sought, with mixed success, to return to the East in a civil capacity.¹ Both had close ties with the 'East Indian' elements of the General Court, and Stables's affinities with the supporters of Hastings and Barwell led him to renounce his Ministerial connections in the recall vote of 1776. Metcalfe, whose fortune was acquired in the best of 'Nabob' traditions, though elected to the Direction in 1789 with the support of Dundas, was said to retain 'Indians' as his 'natural

1. John Stables and Thomas T. Metcalfe (qq.v.). Rumbold began as a cadet, but transferred to the Company's civil branch.

Connexions'.¹ Stables successfully sought a seat in the supreme council in Bengal, while Metcalfe was less fortunate in his candidacy for the Bombay government in 1793. A military background was held to count against, if not disqualify, a candidate from civil office, and Stables's appointment, the result of blatant Ministerial nepotism, was condemned by the Parliamentary committee of 1783 as an example of the elevation 'of Persons without any distinguished Civil Talents, taken from the subordinate Situation of another Line'.² Similarly, Metcalfe, lacking Stables's close Ministerial connections, was circumspect about the chances of the Government's acceptance of his candidacy for Bombay, 'some Remarks ... [having] been made on the Military Situation ... [he] once held in India'.³ Much of the objection to Stables and Metcalfe would seem also to have been based on the low rank they had enjoyed in the army. Though during Dundas's time at the India Board, the Government favoured men of military background in its choice of governors,⁴ those selected were of high rank, but, more importantly, were King's soldiers, and not employees of the Company, in accordance with Dundas's policy of gradual encroachment on the independence of the Company.

1. C.f. Thomas T. Metcalfe (q.v.).

2. Reports from Committees of the House of Commons. Re-printed by Order of the House. Vol. vi. East Indies. 1783. Ninth Report, p. 50.

3. S.R.O., MS. GD/51/4/141 (no foliation): Thomas T. Metcalfe to Henry Dundas, 31 March 1793.

4. E.g. the appointments of Cornwallis, formerly commander of the British forces in America, as governor-general in 1786; of Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell as governor of Madras in 1786; and of Major-General William Medows as governor of Bombay in 1788.

CHAPTER 4

The Shipping Interest

PART 1: Background and Importance in Company Politics

Just as the East India Company preserved its trade monopoly jealously, so groups within the Company itself, connected with particular aspects of the East India trade, sought to do likewise. The composition, and nature, of the 'cloth interest', and the manifestations of its close-knit structure in the business of the Direction in the 1750's have already been noted. However, of more importance for the period, 1754 to 1790, as a whole, through its involvement in the power struggles of the period, was the Company's greatest monopoly, the shipping interest.

The term can be misleading. Throughout the century, and earlier, many directors, from varying backgrounds, held shares in the ownership of Company shipping. This form of ownership was regarded often as shares in any enterprise might be, merely as an investment, from which a profit was expected after each voyage. Such owners were generally 'sleeping partners', and not necessarily active as members of the shipping interest. The term, as used here, applies to those involved actively in the construction, fitting out, large-scale ownership, management and command of East India shipping.

The pre-eminent position of the shipping bloc in this period, whose support was vital for any individual or party hoping to control the Direction, and whose own interests led to the establishment of a shipping faction in the Directorate,

was attributable to the Company's reliance on its marine service to carry on its trade with the East, and to the oligarchic control a minority of City families had gained over it, a situation which can only be fully explained by a consideration of the developments of the previous century.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, the committees, or directors, had decided to hire ships, rather than have them built for the Company, as had been the case previously. A number of reasons were given: the fluctuating nature of their trade at this time, which made them wary of investing in vessels designed specifically for the long and arduous India trade, and the fact that the Company's docks, where the ships were built, were ill-managed, and the expenses of construction prohibitive.¹ Vessels were consequently hired for individual voyages by the Shipping Committee, which also fixed the rate of hire. However, a number of directors were already important ship-owners, and began to manipulate the new system for their own benefit:

Hence the Directors had not only the discretion of giving the Shipping Employ of the Company to whom they pleased, and of fixing the rate of freight to be allowed, but they had themselves the main supply of the Ships, as Ship Owners. This, therefore, was not merely a System of patronage and exclusive Monopoly, but a System of which one direct object was the private interest of the Directors. 2

Thus, at this time, the owner-directors were able to exploit their positions in the Court to blatantly serve their self-interest

1. I.O.L., Mar. Misc., 1, pp. 4-5 (This well-researched, and seemingly reliable, manuscript traces the history of the Company's shipping system from its earliest times, and the development of the shipping interest's monopoly).

2. I.O.L., Mar. Misc., 1, p. 9.

and to establish the position of their families in the new hiring system. The constitution of 1709 prohibited directors from having interests in any ship taken on by the Company,¹ but the regulation was never enforced effectively (since so many directors had interests of some sort in Company shipping)² and the oligarchic position of the Company's shipping families continued unchallenged.³

The unique nature of the East India trade, which demanded vessels able to cope with the vast distances to be covered and the volume of merchandise to be carried, contributed to the extension of the shipping monopoly to other sectors of the City shipping world. By the time of the charter of 1658, since many of the ships employed by the Company were felt to be superannuated, new, and much larger, vessels were commissioned, for which specialised techniques of construction were required. As builders who could cope with the new requirements were in the minority, the directors came to contract solely with them, so facilitating the monopoly of ship-building by a select few.⁴ The need for specialised shipping led to the directors' taking on the same vessels for a number of voyages, and, in 1668, to encourage builders to produce ships for the East India trade,

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1. Sutherland (2), p. 91.
 2. It had to be reinforced by an Act of 1793, which laid down that each director should take an oath that he had no interests in Company shipping (Sutherland (2), p. 91).
 3. Though detailed research into 17th. century ownership of Company shipping has not been possible, the indications are that prominent families in this field, like the Raymonds, Steevens's and Winters, during the period under study, had established interests in Company shipping by the end of the 17th. century.
 4. I.O.L., Mar. Misc., 1, p. 10.

they announced their intention of offering extra rates for the first two voyages of each vessel:

Thus from an early date the needs of the Company seem to give a certain permanency to its shipping interest.¹

This permanency was facilitated by other developments in the Company's shipping organisation: the appearance of 'permanent bottoms' and perpetuity of command. Important here were not only the hereditary tendencies in the ownership of shipping exhibited by the shipping oligarchy, but also the unique position of the Company's commanders, who, from 1658, had to be formally accepted by the directors, thereby becoming almost servants of the Company. Consequently, the directors seem to have felt responsible for their continued employment, and so, when a ship reached the end of its career, the commander, as well as the owners, were given preference:

So in time it became the general practice for a commander to get both a 'permanent bottom' - or right to have a ship in the Company's service - for himself and the other owners and also the permanent command of the ship for himself. This command became in time a marketable commodity to be bought and sold like a commission in the army; in just the same way 'the bottom interest' of the owners became a species of property to be bought and sold like an interest in a parliamentary borough. 2

Such quasi-proprietary rights over commands are illustrated by the shipping concerns of the Winter family. Captain James Winter (q.v.) succeeded his uncle, Captain Nehemiah Winter, as commander of the King William Indiaman in 1715. Winter tendered a new ship, the Eyles, for the directors' acceptance in 1721, and, after two voyages to the East, was allowed to

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1. Sutherland (2), p. 91.
 2. Sutherland (2), pp. 92-93.

hand on the command to his cousin, Captain Ralph Farr Winter, Nehemiah's son.

Though the regulation of 1709 had little effect in preventing directors from retaining interests in Company shipping, it seems, at least, to have made the dominance of the biggest ship-owners less overt than formerly in the Direction,¹ thereby contributing to the concentration of the shipping interest's activity on the General Court, where its many subordinate elements could combine at any time to protect the interests of the bloc as a whole, as in 1716, when the directors minuted that they had 'reason to believe That there was a Confederacy among many of the Owners to impose the freight they demanded on The Company',² or could use its combined voting power to influence the course of Company politics. By the early eighteenth century the shipping interest had consolidated its power, and constituted a 'New and distinct power, capable of producing great political effects, within the Company'.³

During the period under consideration, the weight carried by the shipping bloc was most evident in Company elections, when rival parties vied for its support. The most obvious way for factions in the Direction to ensure the good will of the shipping enclave was by promising to hire more vessels for the Company's employment if they came to power. However, during the troubled 'sixties, as a result of this stratagem,

1. C.f. p. 413.

2. Quoted in Sutherland (2), p. 94.

3. I.O.L., Mar. Misc., 1, p. 32.

the Company was over-burdened with unnecessary vessels and with the costs consequent on this. Laurence Sullivan and Sir George Colebrooke (qq.v.), two of the single most important directors in the Company, and who were in alliance from the early 1770's, were accused of hiring eleven ships for goods which 'might have been conveniently carried by five', and in so doing won the friendship of eleven ship's husbands.¹ The Company's surveyor of shipping told a Parliamentary committee of 1773:

... from the great Number, Opulence, and various Interests, of the Owners of Shipping, due Oeconomy is prevented, as by these Circumstances they are enabled, not only to obtain too high a Freightage, but are like-wise exempted from the necessary Controul; that many more Ships are entertained in the Service of the Company than are required for their Trade. 2

The committee found that the number of ships employed by the Company had risen from sixty-five in 1762, to eighty-six in 1772, the biggest increase co-inciding with the hard-fought election campaign of 1769, when the number jumped by nine from the previous year.³ There would seem to be no doubt that this sudden rise was related to promises made to the shipping interest by hard-pressed parties, desperate for its support

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1. I.O.L., Tract 174: 'Considerations on the Important Benefits to be derived from the East-India Company's building and navigating their own ships. By the author of the Essay on the Rights of the East-India Company' (London, 1778), p. 22. The role of the East India husbands, who were entrusted with the management of vessels by the owners, and certain of whose number wielded great power in the Company, will be discussed shortly.
 2. Reports from Committees of the House of Commons. vol. iv. Fifth Report from the Committee of Secrecy appointed to enquire into the State of the East India Company. Reported on the 30th Day of March 1773, p. 259.
 3. Ibid...

before the election.

The shipping bloc's importance in Company politics, as evinced by the role of its members in the Direction in support of particular individuals or factions controlling the Company, is illustrated by their contribution to Sullivan's period of undisputed power in the Company from the late 1750's to the mid-1760's. The vested interests represented by the shippers, both in the Company, and in the City, were vital for the continuance of his control. John Walsh, Clive's agent, wrote of Sullivan at the time:

His interest is pretty strong in the Shipping among the Husbands of Ships, & he has obliged many I am satisfied in that channel. 1

There is evidence that Walsh's information was well-grounded, and that Sullivan retained the good will of the shipping group by the judicious allocation of voyages. More specifically, one can point to supporters in the Direction, including Captain John Purling (q.v.), a director from 1763, and who was felt to be obliged to Sullivan, presumably for the allocation to him of the lucrative China voyage on his last trip to the East; Henry Crabb Boulton (q.v.), who was concerned to further the shipping interests of his brother, the influential husband, Richard Crabb, and who was on good terms with Sullivan at this time; and, outside the Direction, the powerful ship-owner and insurer, Andrew Moffatt, with whom Sullivan was felt to be 'strong' at the time,² and whose interest was secured by the

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1. N.L.W., MS. 52, p. 43: John Walsh to Robert Clive, 22 Novr. 1764.
 2. N.L.W., MS. 52, p. 43: John Walsh to Robert Clive, 22 Novr. 1764.

provision of voyages for his brother, the future director, Captain James Moffatt (q.v.).

Sullivan had influential connections in shipping circles through his 'men of business', Thomas Lane, formerly a Company servant in Bombay, and now a husband, and Captain Samuel Hough, also of Bombay background. Other directors of 'Bombay' allegiance were also of marine connection: Captains Timothy Tullie and Charles Gough (qq.v.), the latter of who was a member of one of the oldest established shipping families in the Company. Lane and Hough were involved in the ownership of Company shipping with a number of other pre-eminent families in this field, such as the Raymonds, in charge of whose concerns in shipping ownership was the husband, Charles Raymond, with whom Sullivan was on the best of terms. Of the two members of the Raymond family to enter the Direction, John and Jones Raymond (qq.v.), the former sat in the Directorate during these years of Sullivan's supremacy, and had business connections with Hough. Besides his ties with commanders, husbands and owners, Sullivan had support from other sectors of the shipping group. Insurers, such as W.G. Freeman, Giles Rooke and Richard Gildart (qq.v.), were numbered among his closest followers, while the strength of his connection among directors of the Sun Fire Office, which was heavily involved in marine insurance, emphasises his dependence on this quarter of

the shipping world.¹

Having thus considered the development of the shipping interests's monopoly, and touched on its political significance, as evinced by its support for Laurence Sullivan, it will now be necessary to discuss its constituent elements, representative of the various spheres of the Company's shipping concerns, its internal factions and dominant figures, whose activities influenced the composition of the Direction in the period under study.

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1. E.g. Peter Godfrey (q.v.), William Watts (whom the 'Bombay faction' had supported for the Bengal government in 1758), Henry Plant (q.v.), Charles Raymond, Frederick Pigou (q.v.), William Webber (q.v.), Charles Foulis (brother-in-law of Freeman (q.v.), and a follower of Sullivan), William Thornton (-Astell) (q.v.), John Moffatt (relative of James (q.v.) and Andrew).

Particular Shipping Factions

Certain members of the shipping bloc were of such influence as to be able to nominate their own followers for places in the Direction, and to cause rival parties to contend for their support in elections. One such figure was Charles Raymond, ship-owner and builder, husband and City banker. Raymond's family had close associations with East India and South Sea shipping at least as early as the late seventeenth century. His father, Captain John Raymond, had commanded an East Indiaman, while his uncle, Captain Hugh Raymond, on leaving the sea, became a director of the East India, South Sea and London Assurance Companies.¹ Before establishing himself as one of the foremost husbands of his time, being concerned in the management of twenty-four ships between 1760 and 1773, he had himself been a Company commander, retiring in 1747, as a result of poor health.² The family's interests were represented in the Direction in the period 1737 to 1760 by his cousins, John and Jones Raymond (qq.v.).

Through his marine concerns, Raymond had connections with influential families such as the Moffatts and Williams's,³ and carried weight in the City, firstly, as a banker, establishing by 1771 the firm of Raymond, Williams, Vere, Lowe and

1. C.f. Appendix 2.

2. Shearer, p. 134, n. 2.

3. C.f. James Moffatt and Stephen Williams (qq.v.).

Fletcher,¹ and, also, as the associate, and relative, of Merrick Burrell, M.P., director of the Bank of England and prominent Government contractor.²

As a ship's husband and leading figure in the Company's shipping interest, he took an active part in Company politics. Figures relating to Sullivan's part in the 'Great Scheme' of 1769, and in subsequent election campaigns, indicate that he was in Raymond's debt for stock borrowed for 'splitting'.³ The allegiance of directors, either controlled by, or closely linked to, Raymond confirm this connection with Sullivan. As has been noted already, the Raymonds formed part of Sullivan's power-base in the late 'fifties and early 'sixties. Captain William Webber (q.v.), the only director in 1766 on whom Sullivan could rely to support the interest of a colleague in India, had a long standing relationship with the Raymonds, dating from at least as early as 1741, when he sailed as third mate in the Wager Indiaman, for which John Raymond (q.v.) was an owner charter-party.⁴ Webber, who entered the Direction in 1762, so assuming responsibility for representing the Raymonds' interests in the Company after the retirement of John Raymond two years previously, was on the closest of terms with Charles Raymond, whom he described as his 'good friend' in his will, by which Raymond was named executor.

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1. Price, pp. 138-139. Partners in the bank included Robert Williams, brother of Captain Stephen Williams (q.v.), and, it would seem, Captain Henry Fletcher (q.v.).
 2. For Burrell's career, c.f. Sedgwick, vol. 2, pp. 159-160.
 3. Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. hist., c472, f. 41^v.
 4. It was customary for two owners of each ship to sign the charter-party agreement with the Company for the hire of their vessel.

Raymond also succeeded to his property and servants.¹ Captain Thomas Dethick (q.v.), who became a director in 1772, also seems to have been one of Raymond's circle. The Talbot Indiaman, which Dethick had commanded, had been managed by him, while John Raymond (q.v.) had signed as owner charter-party in 1763.

More explicit evidence for Raymond's nominating his own candidates for the Direction dates from 1774, when, rather than confining himself to putting forward a few candidates for the election, he was said to be 'making out a List of Directors' of his own choosing.² Anxious to secure his interest for the Government party before the election of this year, Ministerial managers offered him vacancies on their 'list':

Of these Freeman [q.v.] belongs to Raymond: he and Peach [q.v.] have been brought in to secure Raymond's Interest for the List. 3

Freeman's dependence on Raymond further illustrates the tradition of good relations which obtained between Sullivan and the Raymond family, since Freeman was regarded by Sullivan as one of his staunchest adherents through all the internecine strife of the period.⁴

However, after his fall from power, Sullivan's position, as would that of any faction leader, changed from one of mutual

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1. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1169, f. 412 (1788): Will of Sir Charles Raymond; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1053, f. 226 (1779): Will of William Webber.
 2. Rockingham MSS., R1-1484: Note attached to a printed list of directors in 1774, and apparently from Edmund Burke to Lord Rockingham.
 3. E.U.L., MSS. Photo 1697, correspondence, 1766-74: Henry Strachey to Robert Clive, 29 March 1774 (postscript dated, 1 April 1774).
 4. C.f. William George Freeman (q.v.).

benefit, in his relations with Raymond, to one of abject dependence. Raymond's support was not guaranteed, and could be won by new forces in the Company willing to oblige his shipping connections with high rates of hire, and good voyages. Following his defeat in 1773, Sullivan complained:

... Ministerial influence prov'd too strong for me and yet, as I have observ'd in a former Letter, if M^r. Raymond had not deserted me, I had still gain'd the victory. 1

By October he was writing that he and Raymond were 'fast Friends again',² and his, now absolute, dependence of Raymond's dictates can be seen in his coalescing with his old antagonist, George Johnstone (q.v.), at Raymond's behest. He explained to Hastings:

You will start at this coalition, but I believe of necessity that it must be my line, as M^r. Raymond inclines that way and the Ministry mean to keep no term with me 3

Raymond's importance was also realised by the Government before the 1774 election. Attempts were made to detach him from Sullivan's party by making room in the Ministerial 'list' for Freeman and Peach (qq.v.), as has been seen, and the Government managers were given serious misgivings about the chances in the election of their nominee, Richard Becher (q.v.), since it was rumoured that Raymond intended putting all his weight behind Sullivan in a straight contest with him.⁴

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1. B.L., Add. MSS., 29133, f. 534^v: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 28 April 1773.
 2. B.L., Add. MSS., 29134, f. 70: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 30 Octr. 1773.
 3. B.L., Add. MSS., 29134, f. 251^v: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 8 Decr. - 10 Jany. 1774.
 4. C.f. Richard Becher (q.v.).

Though Raymond was co-operating with the Government in other areas, standing for Middlesex against John Wilkes in the Parliamentary election of this year,¹ and being created a baronet in May,² it would seem that he remained faithful to Sullivan in the Company. Though Sullivan was defeated, his party did well enough to disappoint Government leaders, who concluded that Raymond had 'played false'.³

Other shipping magnates carried great weight at East India House, in the same manner as Raymond, and to the extent of having control over directors, or the power to influence them in matters of Company shipping policy with the intention of defending their interests when attempts were made to reduce the amount of Company shipping, or, more generally, to get access to the patronage of the Direction. Thus the ship-owner, and Parliamentary constituency monger in Scotland, Sir Laurence Dundas, saw in the Company a vast field of patronage with which to reward his followers in his Scottish burghs. He carried sufficient weight with the directors in 1765 for his objections to the inclusion of a political opponent, Sir James Cockburn (q.v.), to be heeded, and for Cockburn to be dropped from the 'House list'.⁴ However, the possibilities of Indian patronage seem to have made him avaricious to the point of recklessness, an agreement among

1. Donne, vol. 1, pp. 209-211.

2. G.E.C., vol. 5, pp. 177-178.

3. E.u.L., MSS. Photo 1697, correspondence, 1766-74: Henry Strachey to Robert Clive, 15 April 1774.

4. C.f. Sir James Cockburn (q.v.).

his papers recording that he 'shall have two Directors in M^r Sullivan's list for the ensuing year ... [and] engages to let M^r Duncan Clerk have one hundred thousand pounds East India Stock to be split by him who with M^r Sullivan etc. is to be security that the said stock shall be returned ... after the election'.¹ It was rumoured that Sullivan's henchman had led Dundas to believe that 'if he purchased £100,000 stock he would get money by the rise, but more than that, such a sum parcell-ed out in votes would make him master of the election. Sir Lawrence did not lose less than £90,000 by his speculation'.²

A number of other prominent husbands maintained representatives, or had close connections, in the Direction: the brothers, Sir Abraham and Alexander Hume,³ supporters of Robert Clive in the 1760's, and whose nephew-in-law, Captain George Cuming (q.v.), entered the Direction in 1764 with Clive's party; John Durand, who was formerly an East India

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1. Zetland MSS., ZNK X 1/2/134: Sir Laurence Dundas's agreement with Wm. Pulteney, Robt. Clerk and Duncan Clerk, on behalf of Laurence Sullivan, dated 10 May 1769.
 2. Colebrooke, pt. 1, pp. 168-169. Colebrooke seems to confuse dates here (as happens occasionally in his memoirs), ascribing this transaction to a date prior to the 1769 election.
 3. Alexander Hume (c.1693-1765) and Sir Abraham Hume (1703-72): Employed originally in the East with other Scottish exiles by the Ostend Company, before its collapse in 1731, the Humes had established themselves as City merchants, East India proprietors and ship-owners by the 1760's in London. Both entered Parliament, Abraham being created baronet in 1765, and enhanced their fortunes by Government contracts, and by underwriting Treasury loans (Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, pp. 652-653; Sutherland (1), p. 98 and n. 1; G. Chaussinand-Nogaret, 'Religion et Société. Une élite insulaire au service de l'Europe: les Jacobites au XVIII^e siècle', Annales, vol. 28 (1973), pp. 1097-1122).

commander,¹ and who was active during the 1760's creating 'split' votes for Clive's party, was on close terms with Edward Holden Cruttenden (q.v.); Richard Crabb,² brother and partner of Henry Crabb Boulton (q.v.), and who had managed ships commanded by Captain Richard Hall (q.v.).

In earlier years, before the factionalism of the 1760's, husbands such as Samuel Braund and Thomas Hall carried weight in the Direction through the diversity of their connections. The former, brother of the director, William Braund, stood at the centre of an inter-connected group of ship-owners and cloth dealers, already discussed as the connections of the Blackwell Hall factor, Brice Fisher. Through family and business ties in this circle, the Braunds worked in close association with a number of directors, including Bootle, Chauncy, Cutts, Fonnereau, John Harrison, Linwood and Rider (qq.v.), who had shares in vessels managed by Samuel Braund, while William Braund was one of those directors not seeking re-election after 1753, following the Brice Fisher scandal.

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1. John Durand (?1719-88): Durand made his fortune as an East India commander, and set up as a London merchant about 1762. His shipping contacts as an Elder Brother of Trinity House, and a ship's husband, were with associates of Clive, for whom he 'split' large amounts of stock in the 'sixties (Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 369; Norman Baker, 'John Durand, Stock Splitter', Proc. Hug. Soc., vol. 21, no. 3 (1968), pp. 280-289).
 2. Richard Crabb (?): Crabb spent some twenty years in the Company marine service, retiring in 1750 to become one of the foremost husbands of his time. Concerned in his marine interests was his brother, Henry Crabb Boulton (q.v.), whose membership of the Direction from 1753, and of the Shipping Committee in sixteen of his seventeen years as a director, undoubtedly enhanced Crabb's position in Company shipping circles (Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, p. 267; I.O.L., Tract 174, op. cit., p. 174; Sutherland (2), p. 116).

Thomas Hall, who had formerly been a Company commander, and had spent some years in the East making his fortune in the 'country trade', established himself as possibly the most important husband of East India shipping in the period before the domination of Charles Raymond. By marriage he was linked to the Hallet family, a number of whose members were Company commanders, and to the family of Thomas Saunders (q.v.), whose career in Madras Hall was able to assist through his connections among the Company servants in that presidency, and through his close relations with a number of directors. Hall had managed vessels commanded by Captains Baron, Lascelles and Tullie (qq.v.), with the last of whom he was involved in business concerns in Madras.¹

Besides those elements of the shipping bloc concerned with the ownership and management of East India shipping, other sections of the interest were represented in the Direction. Connections with the ship-builders of Blackwall Yard on the Thames, who handled the bulk of the orders for the construction of East Indiamen, were evinced by Captain Thomas Dethick (q.v.), whose family seem to have owned land in the dock area from an early period; by Captain James Winter (q.v.), whose father had been a ship-builder at Blackwall; and by Captain Richard Hall (q.v.), who was on close terms with John Perry, one of the most important builders of the time, naming him as a trustee of his estate in his will. Concerns subsidiary to the construction of shipping, like

1. For Thomas Hall's career, and shipping interests, c.f. Gill, passim.

the supply of timber, and of ballast for vessels, were represented on the Direction in the period by Joshua Smith and by John Harrison (q.q.v.).

That the builders maintained nominees in the Directorate, distinct from the shipping interest as a whole, is clear from contemporary report. One such director, a former commander, was said, in 1778, to have recently returned to the Direction, benefitting from the 'extraordinary interest lately exerted in his favour by that [Blackwall] Corporation'.¹ Generally, however, the interests of the builders and the owners were the same. The Blackwall constructors were no more desirous of economies in the Company's shipping programme than the owners, and opposed any projected increases in the size of vessels, aimed at reducing the number of ships necessary for the Company's trade, as an attack on their orders, and also, it was believed, since a number of their members had not the facilities to cope with the construction of larger ships.²

Those members of the shipping bloc involved in the fitting out of vessels, though not so prominent as the husbands, owners and builders, and therefore with more opportunity to enter the Direction while retaining their interests in ships hired by the Company, could, with the right connections, secure monopolies in their own field. Despite the prohibition of 1709, regarding directors and interests in Company shipping, it was believed of Henry Crabb Boulton (q.v.) that 'he had interest, and address sufficient to persuade his brethren in the

1. I.O.L., Tract 174, op. cit., p. 22. The director in question is almost certainly Richard Hall (q.v.).

2. Ibid. pp. 22-23.

Direction, that being Ropemaker General to all the Blackwall Indiamen, which were by much the greater part of the Company's shipping, ought not to be considered as within the letter or spirit of that law. And however insignificant such a business might appear, he contrived by his dexterity, and good management in it, to amass as much wealth as many reputed Nabobs but without the least tincture of their dissipated spirit, for he lived poor, and died rich'.¹

1. I.O.L., Tract 174, op. cit., p. 31.

CHAPTER 4: PART 3

The Company Commanders

An analysis of the representatives of the various sections of the shipping interest in the Direction indicates that by far the most numerous were former Company commanders. Between 1754 and 1790 twenty-three captains became directors,¹ while two others, Jones and Travers (qq.v.), had commanded vessels in the Portuguese trade, and George Johnstone (q.v.) was a naval officer. The preponderance of commanders in relation to the number of owners and builders was partly due to the increased size of the Company fleet with the consequent need for more officers, while the ownership and construction of any new ships tended to remain in the hands of the same minority of shipping magnates and their families. The preponderance of captains may also be attributable to the effects of the 1709 prohibition, after which the major owners and husbands tended to confine themselves to the General Court, while retired commanders, though representing such magnates and retaining some personal interests in shipping, were not numbered among the important owners.² There may also have

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1. Baron, Bootle, Cuming, Elphinstone, Fletcher, Gough, Hall, James, Lascelles, Mabbott, Moffatt, Money, Purling, Bates Rous, Smith-Burges, Nathaniel Smith, Steevens, Tullie, Ward, Webber, Williams, Winter and Dethick (qq.v.).
 2. Thus Captain James Moffatt (q.v.), before entering the Direction, handed over to his brother, the husband, Andrew Moffatt, the management of ships with which he had previously been concerned. The biggest husbands - Thomas Hall, Raymond, Durand, Crabb and Braund - preferred to retain their huge stakes in Company shipping which it would have been embarrassing, and probably impossible, to maintain as directors.

been an understanding of the need for men of maritime background to serve on the Shipping Committee, and to deal with any marine business coming before the Direction. In 1805, the directors expressed their annoyance at the lack of such men in the Court, and, when the next vacancy occurred, united to ensure the election of a candidate with the desired experience.¹

To obtain a seat in the Company Direction was a common ambition among commanders, as befitted their social position on leaving the sea.² Though a number were men of obscure or humble origin, by the time they became captains in the Company service they were by necessity men of wealth and connection in the City shipping world.³ Considerable capital and good connections were needed to purchase, or succeed to, a command, and to finance the extensive private trade open to captains. Fortunes could be made in the supply of European hardware and luxury goods to the populations of the Company's settlements. Captain William Eastwick wrote that 'Three or four voyages secured any man a very handsome fortune'.⁴ There were instances of commanders making £18,000 from one 'double-voyage' (a trip to Madras or Bombay, followed by a voyage to

1. Philips (1), p. 8.

2. A Company commander, when ashore, enjoyed the same status as a presidential councillor (Cotton, p. 21).

3. 'The advance from chief mate to master of a ship effected for the individual concerned transformation in status and a trebling of income, and opened the way to much greater prizes. It took the lucky family into the middle class, and offered him the possibility of saving for old age or of turning into a merchant; it put a fortunate few on the road to real wealth, aldermanship and knighthood' (Ralph Davis, The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (London, 1962), p. 84).

4. Quoted in Shearer, p. 159.

China, and thence to England), though it was more common for a single voyage to produce profits of from £8,000 to £10,000,¹ with each captain making anything from three to five trips to the East.

Possessed of such fortunes and the influence derived from their membership of one of the City's most powerful marine organisations, commanders could move in the highest circles. As will be seen, a number enhanced the opportunities for patronage provided by a seat in the India Direction, by becoming Elder Brethren of Trinity House, selection for which, in itself, implied status in the City. Certain of those commanders who became directors enjoyed the patronage of Government Ministers or Lords,² with whose support they entered the Direction, repaying their patrons with a share of their East Indian patronage. Seven of those becoming directors also entered Parliament,³ and three, who all became Company chairmen, were elevated to the baronetage.⁴

Towards the end of the century in particular, the fortune to be made in the Company's marine service as a commander, an office which carried no stigmata of the sort associated with the 'mercantile' careers of the Company's servants in India, began to attract the younger sons of the landed classes, most

1. Cotton, p. 37.

2. E.g. James Moffatt (q.v.), patronised by Lord Mansfield; Nathaniel Smith (q.v.), by Lord Camden; William James, John Purling and Robert Jones (qq.v.), by Lord Sandwich.

3. Fletcher, James, Jones, Mabbott, Purling, Bates Rous and Nathaniel Smith (qq.v.).

4. Sir Henry Fletcher, Sir William James and Sir John Smith-Burges (qq.v.).

noticably, the Scots gentry, poorer than their English counterparts, and often with family fortunes at a low ebb. From the time of the Act of Union, when English trade was opened to the Scots, a London-Scottish mercantile community had been growing in the City, and, while making little impact on the closed ranks of the Direction, had, from an early date, been making some headway in the shipping world. By the middle of the century husbands such as the Hume brothers, Sir Laurence Dundas, Captain Charles Foulis,¹ Andrew Moffatt and, towards the end of the century, Robert Preston,² Simon Fraser (q.v.) and possibly Gilbert Slater,³ were able to provide commands for scions of Scottish families of rank with whom they were connected. Thus William Elphinstone (q.v.), youngest son of a Scottish landed family of declining fortunes, was found

1. Charles Foulis (? -1783): A family connection of Sir James Foulis, Bt., of Colinton, Edinburgh, Bombay councillor in the early 1750's, and a relative of the Moffatts (c.f. Appendix 2), Foulis had been a commander before moving into management and ownership by the early 'sixties, being husband for 12 ships between 1762 and 1783 (Hardy (1), passim). Like his brother-in-law, Freeman (q.v.), he was a close follower of Sullivan (B.L., Add. MSS., 29133, f. 563: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 23 March 1773).
2. Robert Preston (1740-1834): Preston was a brother of Sir Charles Preston, M.P., of Valleyfield, Perth, and entered the Company marine service. Retiring in 1777 with a large fortune, with which he rescued his family from financial difficulties, he went into business with his uncle, Charles Foulis, as a ship-owner and insurer, and became a leader of the East India shipping group in Parliament (Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, p. 326; B.L., Add. MSS., 29133, f. 563: Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 23 March 1773).
3. Gilbert Slater (? -1793): Slater, the son of an East India captain, became a 'considerable owner of E. India shipping, and one of the directors of the London Assurance-office'. As a ship's husband he made a large fortune (G.M., vol. 63, pt. 2 (1793), p. 1054). A Scottish background is suggested by his association with Elphinstone (q.v.) and his Scots shipping connections.

a command by Sir Laurence Dundas, and George Cuming (q.v.), whose Scottish background seems certain, was promoted to the rank of captain by his wife's uncles, the Humes.

The monopolistic nature of the Company shipping organisation made family connection an all-important feature in appointment to commands. Of the twenty-three directors who had been captains, at least fourteen,¹ and possibly more,² came from, or married into, families of note in the shipping oligarchy. The importance of the commanders in the Company in this period is further illustrated by the fact that six directors were the sons or nephews of captains,³ four had brothers in command of Indiamen,⁴ whose interests they could represent, and others either enhanced their prospects of election to the Directorate, or consolidated their existing power there, by marrying into well-established shipping families.⁵ The hegemony achieved by certain families in the Company shipping world can be seen from the almost dynastic power at East India House of the Gough, Moffatt, Money, Raymond, Williams and Winter family groups, whose exclusive control in the marine field was augmented by inter-marriage

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1. Cuming, Dethick, Gough, Lascelles, Moffatt, Money, Purling, Bates Rous, Smith-Burges, Nathaniel Smith, Steevens, Webber (whose close relations with the Raymonds were the equivalent of family ties), Williams and Winter (qq.v.).
 2. The obscure background of such directors as Baron, Hall and Ward (qq.v.) makes such conclusions impossible.
 3. Boddam, Crabb Boulton, Fitzhugh, John and Jones Raymond, and Pattle (qq.v.).
 4. Lemesurier, Pigou, Rider and Joshua Smith (qq.v.).
 5. Dudley, Freeman (whose sister married Charles Foulis), Inglis (qq.v.), whose second wife would seem to have been the daughter of George Wilson, the East India ship's husband.

and common concerns in shipping ownership.¹

Though considered so far as forming part of the shipping interest as a whole, and though generally having the same interests as the owners and managers, the commanders maintained their own organisation, whose political activity remains obscure, but which, in later years, may have been closely related to the Society of East India Commanders, which was founded in 1776.² A number of directors, all of whom were former commanders, also carried weight in the City's shipping circles by virtue of their membership of Trinity

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1. C.f. Gough, Moffatt, Money, John and Jones Raymond, Williams and Winter (qq.v.), and the family pedigrees in Appendix 2. The cohesion of the dominant families may have been strengthened by the similarity in the social and religious outlook (basically Calvinistic) of the Huguenot, Dissenting and Scottish Protestant elements prominent in Company shipping circles, an affinity possibly encouraged by inter-marriage: e.g. Pigou (q.v.) married into a family with the overtly Scottish surname of Dunbar. The directors had early put obstacles in the way of any Catholic making progress in the marine service by prohibiting any man of that faith from commanding an Indiaman (I.O.L., Ct. Bk., B/52, p. 190: minute of 17 Octr. 1712). The names chosen for some of the Company's vessels are in themselves suggestive: the Winters, prominent in City Dissenting circles, owned and commanded the King William.
 2. Baltic Exchange Archive, Minute Book of the Society of East India Commanders (no foliation): 'Articles of Agreement ... concluded upon the 23d Day of March 1776'. Among the founder-members were Samuel Hough, William Money (q.v.), Robert Rous (son of Thomas Rous (q.v.)), and William Fraser (kinsman of Simon Fraser (q.v.)). The Society's original aim was to provide for the families of commanders after their deaths, for which eventuality each member contributed £50 annually, £500 being paid out to his widow or recipient of his choice at his death. The commanders were to meet only once a year, unless called together by the wish of 5 or more of their members, but chose a committee of 12, with a permanent secretary, to represent their interests during the rest of the year. The committee petitioned the directors on a number of questions, before 1790 on matters relating mainly to the commanders' private trade, but in later years in defence of such traditional practices as the provision of new commands for captains whose Indiamen went out of service.

House's body of Elder Brethren,¹ who played an important, though hitherto little studied, part in the politics of the shipping world, through the considerable patronage at their disposal, and their closeness to Government.² The Brethren derived income from their property in the Deptford area, from dues levied on shipping using the various passages of the Thames, and from sundry minor levies, such as that on seamen for the upkeep of lighthouses. Their duties included surveying, and reporting on, vessels hired, or purchased, by the Government for warlike purposes, and the superintendence of the victualling and fitting out of fleets, from which they derived lucrative patronage, as well as controlling a range of minor appointments, such as pilots and lighthousemen.³

Competition for places at Trinity House was keen, and election went only to those with good connections in the higher échelons of the shipping hierarchy, and in the Admiralty, since the First Lord, as Master of the Corporation of Brethren, carried great weight in the choice of Brethren, and of the Deputy Master, whose nominee he generally was.⁴ Papers relating to the internal politics of Trinity House among the Sandwich manuscripts, in the period of the North Ministry, indicate that the hostility and intrigue engendered by rivalry for the Deputy Master's office, though on a more limited

1. James, Jones, Money, Steevens, Travers, Williams and Winter (qq.v.).

2. Sutherland (2), pp. 101-102.

3. Charles R.B. Barrett, The Trinity House of Deptford Strond (London, 1893), pp. x, 85, 98, 102.

4. E.g. Sir William James (q.v.), who held the office while his patron, Lord Sandwich, was First Lord of the Admiralty.

scale, was on a par with that evident during the disputed Company elections of the time.

There may have been a tradition that a minority of East India directors, or commanders, be included in the ranks of the Brethren, as was the case with the Royal Exchange Assurance Company, one of whose directors always sat there to facilitate liaison on shipping matters concerning both institutions.¹ Such a relationship would have enabled close co-operation between the Company and Trinity House, particularly in time of war, as was demonstrated by the harmony obtaining between James (q.v.), as Company chairman and Deputy Master, and Lord Sandwich, in matters such as the planning of convoy arrangements for the East India fleets during the American War.

A significant rise in the numbers of commanders sitting annually in the Direction is obvious over the period 1754 to 1790 as a whole. From the early 1750's to the late 1760's there were seldom more than three captains in any year,² with the exception of the years dominated by the rivalry between the Clive and Sullivan factions, when the need on either side for candidates to fill their 'lists' may have led to the participation of more commanders, obvious choices by virtue of their general wealth and influence in the Company, and the importance for parties to win the favour of the shipping interest.³ From 1769 commanders began to enter the Direction

1. Barry Supple, The Royal Exchange Assurance ... (Cambridge, 1970), p. 76.

2. Robert Jones (q.v.) excepted.

3. 6 commanders were elected in 1762, 5 in 1763 and 4 in 1764.

in greater numbers, with seven in 1773 and as many as nine in 1774. The annual figure did not drop below six for the rest of the decade, with a rise to nine again in 1779. Though the annual figures can be interpreted variously, being partly attributable to the effects of the rotation system, and partly to the involvement in any one year of powerful magnates, such as Charles Raymond, whose adherents included many East India captains, they at least evince the increasing importance in Company affairs of the shipping interest. It may consequently be possible to link the rise in the number of commanders entering the Direction during the 1770's with the dominant role of the shipping bloc in these years.

As has been seen, the needs of contending parties in the Company during the 'sixties had led to the hiring of more ships than were necessary, so aggravating a situation of over-loading dating from the Seven Years War, when extra vessels had been taken on to cope with the demands of the war in the East. An agreement at the cessation of hostilities in 1763, aimed at reducing the number of ships hired by the Company, could not be enforced as a result of the one great weakness of the shipping interest - its inability to discipline its members when individual interests were at stake. Thus, by 1773, there were twenty-six vessels in the employ of the Company which were supernumerary, and which were lying in dock awaiting their turn in rotation. Though reform of this situation was to come after the 1772 financial crisis, to which the cost of taking on superfluous shipping had contributed, it took longer to phase out the rotation system.¹ Thus the relatively large number

1. Shearer, pp. 145-153.

of commanders in the Directorate at this time, and in the years immediately subsequent to it, would seem to reflect the inflated size of the Company fleet, and the needs of associated shipping groups to be represented in the Direction.

However, when reform was forced on the Company after the credit crisis of 1772 and 1773, the number of ships hired by the Company was reduced, and the size of vessels was to be enlarged. The growing control of the Ministry over the Direction after 1774, and the results of the new system of electing directors for four years, has been seen as contributing to a reduction in the control of factions at elections, and over directors. Accordingly, the role of the greatest of such factions, the shipping bloc, has also been seen to have altered:

Although the interest was never completely estranged from the Direction and retained a substantial party among its members, its real power after the passing of the Regulating Act did not lie so completely, as before, in the considerable vested interests which it comprised, or in the voting strength it commanded, though both, at times, were utilised, but depended rather more on the fact that it represented the largest and most experienced body, in England, of owners, builders and commanders of Indiamen. 1

However, this development should perhaps not be pushed back too far. Magnates, such as Charles Raymond, continued to play crucial parts in the course of elections during the remainder of the North Ministry. Though Henry Dundas and the Ministry party in the Company came to dominate elections by the late 1780's, the shipping members of the Direction, still the representatives of the vested interests of the owners, husbands

1. Shearer, pp. 165-166.

and commanders, devoted their energies to resisting attempts to put the hire of Company ships up for open tender. If the role of the shipping bloc as a whole was beginning to change, the same families continued to represent its interests in the Direction to the end of the period under study, with Elphinstone, Moffatt, Money, Nathaniel Smith and Smith-Burges (qq.v.), commanders of an earlier era, fighting to preserve a system whose days were numbered.¹

1. Elphinstone, Smith, Smith-Burges and Williams remained directors into the next century; Money was followed by his son, and the Moffatts continued to be represented in marine insurance by family members in the Directorate of the Sun Fire Office.

CHAPTER 5

The Direction and Ministerial Management

PART 1: Traditional Relations between Company and Government and the Development of Ministerial Intervention

With the City's two other great financial institutions, the Bank of England and the South Sea Company, the East India Company formed part of a three-pillared support for eighteenth century British Governments. It was a reciprocal relationship, with the very existence of the Company depending on the Government's renewal of its charter, and the Company, in return, contributing to the public purse. Under the stable administration of Walpole and Pelham the relationship matured, and, unlike the period after the 1760's, the directors and the Government shared an identity of interest, a harmonious connection reflected in the composition of the Direction at the beginning of the period under study. Close relations with Government, and with individual Ministers, were maintained during the 1750's with the importance in the Direction of Ministerial Parliamentary supporters, and merchants of the City class participating in Treasury loans and Government contracts.

However, the corollary of this situation was the tendency for Parliamentary Opposition groups to coalesce with the Company's City enemies, particularly the mercantile sections of London, and of the provincial ports, deprived of a share in the trade with the East by the Company monopoly. It was said of Robert Walpole in the Opposition Press:

He is hated by the City of London because he never

did anything for the trading part of it, nor aimed at any interest of theirs but a corrupt influence over the directors and governors of the great moneyed companies. 1

Such a combination against the Company had taken place in 1730, when Opposition spokesmen in the Commons supported the claims of the London and provincial merchants for a new, regulated, Company to replace the East India Company, but, with Government assistance, the directors were defended from any encroachment on their monopoly.²

The political situation emerging in the 1760's, with the break-down of the 'system' of Walpole and the Pelhams, in the wake of a succession of short-lived Ministries, saw political leaders taking a greater interest in India affairs, and for new reasons. The Company was no longer merely part of the City financial scene as a whole, but, with its increased wealth and responsibilities, began to constitute a political arena in its own right. Exaggerated expectation of the yield from new revenue resources, following Clive's assumption of the diwani, encouraged Governments to look to the Company for an increased contribution to the Treasury, and, in the turbulent General Courts of the 'sixties, which brought Company affairs to the forefront of the political scene, Opposition leaders found opportunities to attack Governments, and to enhance their own reputations. Other factors, such as the Company's inability to control its servants in charge of its new responsibilities in the East, and its failure to check the speculations in

1. Quoted in Sutherland (1), p. 31.

2. Sutherland (1), pp. 30-31.

stock of its proprietors and directors at home, contributing to the financial crisis of 1772, when it was forced to beg Government assistance, forced Ministries to intervene, at first reluctantly under Lord North, but later, under Pitt and Dundas, in a concerted attempt to abrogate to the Government control of the Company's expanding, and increasingly territorial, dominion in India. The process of Government intervention, from the dabbling in Company affairs in the 'sixties of Ministries supporting specific factions at East India House, to the all-powerful system of management of elections in Henry Dundas's time, had a profound influence on the composition of the Direction, and, by the end of the period, allegiance to Government had become the single-most important factor determining a candidate's chances of election.

Though it was not until the assumption of the diwani that Governments were encouraged to intervene in Company affairs to attempt to wrest from the directors a share in their expected new wealth, the support given by the Bute Ministry in 1763 to Laurence Sullivan's party, in return for Sullivan's help in carrying the Ministry's proposed terms of peace with the French, and the alignment of Opposition forces with Clive and Rous (q.v.), set a precedent for future Government and Opposition involvement in Company politics. Under George Grenville, Bute's successor, significant steps were taken along the road towards a co-ordinated system of Ministerial management in Company elections. However, Grenville's involvement in the elections of 1764 and 1765 on behalf of Clive's party must be seen in terms of Parliamentary management, deriving from his desire to harness Clive's considerable

Parliamentary interest to his own to bolster his Ministry's position.

Ministerial managers began co-operating with Clive's party, and though the Government took less part in 'splitting' activities than in 1763, it assumed much of the responsibility for the preparation of a 'list' of candidates to challenge Sullivan's party. Grenville's support for Clive's party was necessarily extended to the 1765 election to ensure the establishment of a majority of directors favourable to Clive, who had by now left England for his second period of government in Bengal. However, this was as far as Grenville's East Indian ambitions stretched. Unlike his colleague, Lord Sandwich, who built up his own East Indian following in succeeding years, Grenville did not concern himself with India politics after leaving office, save to advise Clive later on his conduct.¹ It was with surprise that Clive's agent wrote before the 1765 election of Grenville's unwillingness to become unnecessarily involved in Company affairs:

I asked Mr. Grenville why he did not choose to nominate some Persons immediately attached to himself, for that these would certainly follow Lord Sandwich on all Occasions; but he really seems to mean to maintain his Power merely by his application to Business. 2

In subsequent years Ministries were too short-lived, and too divided internally, to offer whole-hearted support to any party in the Company. The Rockingham Administration, coming between the great struggles of the early 'sixties, and the

1. Sutherland (1), pp. 123-124.

2. I.O.L., Home Misc. Ser., 808, p. 232: John Walsh to Robert Clive, 5 April 1765.

diwani period, took the traditional line of earlier eighteenth century Governments in support of the ruling majority in the Direction against opposition from rival factions.¹ With the establishment of the Chatham Administration in July 1766, a new phase of State-Company relations opened. Under Bute and Grenville Ministries had been drawn into Company affairs by motives of wider political consideration. Now, with widespread acceptance of the estimated yield from the Company's newly acquired revenues in Bengal, the Government saw the chance to extract from the Company a share of its new wealth in exchange for an extension of its charter which was coming up for renewal.

The situation was complicated, however, by divisions among Ministers over the means by which the Company should be made to part with a share of its wealth, and by the personal ties of particular Ministers with the various factions at East India House. Chatham was in favour of forcing the Company's agreement by the threat of Parliamentary legislation, while other of his colleagues, such as Conway and Townshend, preferred the idea of a negotiated settlement, while Shelburne found himself with divided loyalties, on one hand to Chatham, and on the other, to connections in the Company opposition, such as Sullivan and Lauchlin Macleane, Shelburne's under-secretary, and a member of the section of the General Court pressing for increases in the Company's dividend to further

1. Henry Strachey, Clive's secretary, was told after the 1766 election: 'Lord Rockingham was very sanguine for your house list of Directors and attended at the Election' (E.U.L., MSS. Photo 1697, letters to Strachey, 1764-70: Robert Quarre to Henry Strachey, 2 May 1766).

speculation in the stocks.¹ Though a charter agreement was eventually worked out, the embarrassments suffered by the Ministry, through its divided position and through the Parliamentary Opposition's adopting the cause of the Company against attempts to force a settlement on it, were not to be spared future Ministries, since the settlement was of only two years duration, so making further Government intervention inevitable.

Though Grafton, Pitt's successor, held no extreme views on the need to bring the Company to heel, and to win for the State a larger share of the Company's wealth,² the need for a satisfactory relationship with the directors to expedite matters of business, such as the renewal of the charter, and also the directors' desire for Ministry help to keep at bay their enemies in the Company, led to the resumption of a form of management first introduced by Grenville - the deliberate placing of Government nominees in the Direction towards the construction of a Ministerial faction there, in this case to be built round the experienced 'backstairs' politician, Robert Jones (q.v.), 'man of business' for Lord Sandwich, who had now joined the Grafton Government. Despite Jones's unpopularity among the directors, and fears of the ultimate effect of Government intervention on the independence of the

1. For Maclean's career, c.f. Maclean, passim.

2. Grafton seems also to have been on poor terms with the directors. One of his closest friends at East India House, John Macpherson, wrote in 1769: 'It is more so that I know I am almost the only person for whom the Minister [Grafton] has provided in the India Company, so opposite are they to his interest' (Quoted in James N.M. Maclean, 'The early political Careers of James "Fingal" Macpherson (1736-1796), and Sir John Macpherson, Bart. (1744-1821), p. 161).

Company , the directors were dependent on Ministerial financial support to combat the massive 'splitting' campaign launched by the opposition, led by Sullivan, before the election of 1769.

As the North Ministry grew out of, rather than replaced, Grafton's Administration, so the nascent system of East India management was inherited, and elaborated, by North's Treasury secretary, John Robinson, with his lieutenant, Charles Jenkinson, who brought with him experience of such work from his days in the Bute and Grenville Governments. The Company's financial crisis in the years 1772 and 1773, and its need for support from the Government, made it imperative for the Ministry to establish some form of influence in the Direction, if only to safeguard its now vested interest in the Company's success, given also that the Company's most able, and ostensibly most respectable, directors had shown themselves fully prepared to put their personal ambitions for power, and their speculative interests, before the good of the Company.¹ The Regulating Act too, North's attempt to reform the Company at home and in India, required some element of control at the heart of the Company to ensure its successful implementation. The deliberate attempt by the North Ministry to construct a system of management must be seen in this light, and not solely, as Opposition leaders might aver, as the result of the greed of the Government, or of particular Ministers, for a share in East India patronage. Robinson wrote that the Government's policy was aimed at establishing a reliable

1. E.g. Cockburn, Colebrooke, Crabb Boulton, Cust, Manship and Sullivan (qq.v.).

Company administration, based on 'public principle and a regular plan'.¹

Though the Government suffered some initial set-backs in trying to introduce its nominees into the Direction, the changes brought about by the Regulating Act were beginning to work in its favour. With the annual election now of only six directors, there were fewer candidates for Robinson and Jenkinson to win over. The raising of the voting qualification to the possession of £1,000 stock reduced the number of proprietors with occasional interest in the Company, and put the General Court's power into the hands of well-organised factions with long-term objectives, one of which was now the Ministerial party, with the wide range of departmental employees, dependants and favour-seekers on whom it could call, and, if necessary, provide with sufficient stock at election times.

The Rockingham Administration, which succeeded North's Government in March 1782, and which lasted only until July of that year, was to have little opportunity to develop a system of management comparable to Robinson's. It would, however, have been extremely difficult for the new Ministry to have attempted anything of the sort, given the Rockingham group's earlier denunciation of North's interference in East India affairs as an infringement on the Company's chartered rights. This was not the case with the Ministry succeeding Rockingham, with Shelburne at the helm, and India affairs in the hands of Henry Dundas, whose work in the Parliamentary Secret Committee, set ~~to~~ to enquire into the causes of the recent war in the

1. Quoted in Sutherland (1), p. 280.

Carnatic, had resulted in his formulating definite plans for the future shape of the Company, plans which included the removal of Warren Hastings. The resumption of some form of management over the Direction was essential to force through Dundas's demand for Hastings's dismissal, which came before the directors in October. Responsibility for ensuring a favourable majority in the Direction fell upon the new Treasury secretary, Thomas Orde.

While lacking the conditions enjoyed previously by Robinson in which to operate - the support of a Ministry of reasonable longevity, and with a good majority in the House - Orde attempted to coerce the directors into supporting the Ministry demand for Hastings's recall. Before the vote was taken, it was reported, he had taken each director aside to emphasise that the Government was adamant in its wish for the motion's acceptance.¹ Though less subtle than Robinson's, Orde's approach seemed to have borne fruit with the directors who carried the motion, but it was rejected by the proprietors, among whom the Hastings party carried more weight.²

The short-lived Shelburne Administration gave way, in April 1783, to a coalition of hitherto hostile figures - Lord North and Charles James Fox. Fox assumed charge of the new Ministry's policy regarding India affairs. Any thoughts of reviving North's old management system were subordinated to his plan for reforming the Company which was encapsulated in

1. H.C., Add. MSS., 29156, ff. 312-312^v: John Scott to Warren Hastings, 1 Novr. 1782.

2. Sutherland (1), p. 390.

his India Bill, which he had drafted with help from various sources, including Edmund Burke. To replace the existing India Direction he visualised a two-tiered system of control, with a body of commissioners chosen by the Government from Parliament, at the top, and a body of assistant commissioners below, chosen from the directors. In September, he told Sandwich, who was pressing him to promise Government support for John Pardoe (q.v.) in the next election:

It is so clearly my opinion that a plan ought to be adopted putting the whole of the Direction upon a different footing, or possibly even substituting a new Commission in the place of the Directors, and that this Plan ought to be put into execution immediately after the meeting of Parliament, that I cannot enter into any engagements upon the idea of filling up the Direction in the old way. 1

However, given his obligations to favour political connections and to serve supporters, and, of more pressing importance in the light of recent experience, the need for a body of assistant commissioners whose co-operation with the Ministry could be guaranteed, it was inevitable that Fox would nominate candidates as he would have done for the Direction. Thus, of the proposed assistants, Wilkinson and Lushington (qq.v.) were old Rockingham supporters; Tatem (q.v.) had been a contractor under North, Fox's new partner in Government; Cuming (q.v.) had recently renounced his connection with the Hastings party; Hall and Smith-Burges (qq.v.) were recent converts to Fox's cause; Cheap (q.v.) was included at the request of Lord Chief Justice Loughborough, and Moffatt (q.v.) may likewise have been nominated by Lord Mansfield; Michie

1. Sandwich MSS., F40/17: Charles James Fox to Lord Sandwich, 3 Sept. 1783.

and Harrison (qq.v.), directors of the 'old school', were known to vote with the Government of the day.¹

Fox's measures, which seemed to threaten to abrogate control of the Company and its patronage to the State, never reached the statute book, being defeated by a combination of the Company opposition, Opposition forces in the House focusing on William Pitt, and the King himself, on whose orders Fox's Bill was thrown out by the Lords.

Though John Robinson had deserted North to join the new Pitt Ministry which succeeded Fox and North, it was obvious from an early stage that East India business was to come under the control of Henry Dundas. Dundas had mastered a wealth of detail on the Company's financial position while head of the Secret Committee, and had drafted the bulk of Pitt's India Bill. Though the patronage offered by the Company might be an attractive addition to that which he already controlled as Pitt's political manager in Scotland, Dundas came to take an interest in East India affairs in themselves, and to see himself as the first secretary of state for India.² Though this ambition was never realised, he was able, by virtue of his appointment to the new Board of Control, to abrogate to himself full control of relations with the Company, and to perfect the methods of Ministerial management practised under North, giving the Government a greater say in Company elections than that of any previous Ministry.

1. Gregory and Fletcher (qq.v.) were to be full commissioners.

2. Holden Furber, Henry Dundas First Viscount Melville 1742-1811 (London, 1931), p. 29.

Ministerial Management: The Directors Involved

The period of most effective, and best co-ordinated, Ministerial management of the East India Direction began with the North Ministry, and, after the short-lived Governments of the early 'eighties, was resumed, and perfected, by Henry Dundas during the Administration of William Pitt. However, the means by which Governments attempted to influence the policies of the Direction, and elections to it, are reflected in the more limited involvement of earlier Ministries. Thus the policy of using managers and secretaries to handle Government intervention in Company affairs is characteristic of the whole period. It can be seen clearly under Grenville, when Charles Jenkinson,¹ assisted by Joseph Salvador,² worked in co-operation with Clive's agents in the preparation of a 'list' of candidates to challenge Sullivan's party in the Company elections of 1764 and 1765. With the more long-term interest of the North Ministry in controlling the Company,

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1. Charles Jenkinson (1729-1808): Jenkinson had been Bute's under-secretary, gaining experience of Company affairs through the Ministry's help for Sullivan. Joining Grenville as Treasury secretary, he became concerned in both Government financial and political business. He was again to act as an East India manager with John Robinson, North's secretary (Namier and Brooke, vol. 2, pp. 674-678).
 2. Joseph Salvador (1716-1786): Salvador, a wealthy Jewish merchant and subscriber to Treasury loans under Newcastle, was also a prominent East India proprietor. Through his Government connections, and close ties with Clive, with whose Indian remittances he was involved, he was in an ideal position to liaise between Clive's camp and the Ministry (Maurice Woolf, 'Joseph Salvador 1716-1786', Jewish Historical Society of England Transactions, vol. 21 (1968), pp. 104-136).

John Robinson¹ was employed to establish a Ministerial faction in the Direction, and it was the approach adopted by Robinson which was to be copied, less successfully, by Thomas Orde² during the Shelburne Administration, and which was to be resumed by Dundas, and shaped as part of a greater scheme to bring the Company and its Indian dominion under State control.

Similarly, while the degree of Government involvement in Company affairs intensified throughout the period, the types of directors who were chosen as Ministerial nominees, or who were open to influence from Government, were often the same in the 1780's as in the 1760's and earlier. During the pre-Plassey years, when the Company's interests were synonymous with the State's, Ministers had close connections with City merchants contributing to Treasury loans, or holding Government contracts, who sat in the Direction. Thus, during the 1750's, directors such as Creed, Jones, Linwood, Mabbott and Newnham (qq.v.), who were all M.P.'s, were on close terms with particular Ministers, whom they admitted to a share in their

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1. John Robinson (1727-1802): Robinson became Treasury secretary in 1770 through the recommendation of Jenkinson. Having little talent for debate, his best work was done behind the scenes in the organisation of Government contracts, and political management, being described as 'a man of clear understanding, consummate knowledge in the general line of commercial information, and of indefatigable attention to every subject that comes under his consideration'. He later deserted North on the formation of the Fox-North Coalition, and went over to Pitt, taking with him his vast experience of India politics (Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, pp. 344-346).
 2. Thomas Orde (1746-1807): Orde had been a member of Dundas's Secret Committee and was credited with the preparation of its fifth report, considered by Wraxall as 'one of the most able, well-digested, and important documents ever laid upon the table of the House of Commons'. He had been Shelburne's secretary while the latter was at the Home Office under Rockingham (Namier and Brooke, vol. 3, pp. 232-234).

Indian patronage.

Similarly, under Grenville, when the first clear evidence exists for the Government's bringing forward candidates for the Direction, the managers' choice fell on dependants, particularly from Grenville's Parliamentary following. Thus, Jenkinson and Salvador approached George Amyand (q.v.), who was now estranged from Sullivan, and was acting as Grenville's financial adviser; Peregrine Cust (q.v.), who was dependent on Ministerial good will for the continuance of his Government contracts; Robert Jones (q.v.), Cust's partner, and a close connection of Lord Sandwich, one of Grenville's secretaries of state. There are indications that under Grenville some regard at least was being given to the aptitude of potential candidates. John Stephenson (q.v.), though a contractor, and a protégé of Lord Sandwich, was passed over in 1764 on the grounds that he was not 'a man of business'.¹

Inevitably, however, given the realities of the contemporary system of political management, and the balance of Grenville's priorities in favour of the enhancement of his standing in Parliament, interest came before ability, and candidates were chosen on the strength of their Parliamentary connections. Thus Stephenson was elected in the following year, and Grenville involved himself personally for the generally despised John Pardoe (q.v.), recommending him to Rous (q.v.) for the first vacancy that might occur in the Direction, to win over Pardoe's patron, the wealthy and influential Parliamentarian,

1. Jucker, p. 273: Joseph Salvador to Charles Jenkinson, 15 March 1764.

and East India proprietor, Sir Edward Turner.

The allocation of Government contracts formed a basic part of the system of control over the Direction attempted by North and Robinson. The country's involvement in the American War, with the need to maintain and supply troops on the other side of the Atlantic, and to fit out and maintain the Navy, provided a wide field from which the Government could reward followers in the Direction.¹ By the Regulating Act, the Ministry now had a say in the appointment of the governor-general, and of the supreme councillors, and carried weight in the selection of presidential governors. Directors with pretensions to office in India could be relied upon to support the Government at East India House in return for promises of Ministerial assistance to realise their ambitions.²

With the end of the American War in 1783 the contracts available for Government minions became fewer in number. However, under Dundas candidates continued to be drawn mainly from the ranks of the Ministry's City and Parliamentary supporters,³ though his influence in the Company would seem to have been derived, not so much from the favours with which he could reward followers, as from the strength of his

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1. Directors holding contracts under North were: Atkinson (who entered the Direction in 1784), Baring, Devaynes, James, possibly Michie, William Mills, Parry, Pigou, Roberts, Tatem, Wheler, Wier and Wombwell (qq.v.).
 2. E.g. Lascelles, Rumbold, Stables and Wheler (qq.v.).
 3. The growing number of Government nominees in the Direction is illustrated by the increasing number of M.P.'s chosen. An average of between 3 and 4 M.P.'s sat in the Direction in the decade, 1760-1769; 6 between 1770 and 1779; and just over 8 between 1780 and 1789. These figures refer only to directors who sat concurrently in Parliament, and not to those who were M.P.'s before or after their directorships.

personal standing in the Company, and of the Government party in the General Court.¹

The reliance on contractors and other dependants brought its own problems. Such men were often directors of long-standing who had formed other connections in the Company, and could therefore not always be relied upon for undivided loyalty. 'Indians' such as Rumbold and Stables (qq.v.) might not support the Ministry in a situation where one of their own number was threatened, as when the Government attempted to carry the dismissal of Warren Hastings and Richard Barwell. Intervention in Company elections, like that attempted by North's managers in 1774, when the directors were forced to accept Ministerial nominations to their 'House list' under threat of the Government's issuing a rival 'House list',² could lead to the exclusion from the 'list', and consequent alienation, of directors who might have been expected to support the directors and the Government against the Company opposition. A number of such directors went over to the 'Proprietors' list' in 1774: Charles Chambers (q.v.), a wine contractor with the Company, and normally a supporter of the ruling majority in the Direction to ensure the continuance of his contracts; Captain George Cuming (q.v.), also dropped from the 'House list', though traditionally a close follower of Clive, whose party was co-operating with the Ministry at

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1. City directors who can be shown to have received support from Dundas: Atkinson, Baring, Devaynes, Ewer, Fraser, Lemesurier, Michie, Charles Mills, Robarts, Tatem, Thornton; of shipping background: Elphinstone, Money, Smith-Burges, Williams (qq.v.).
 2. E.U.L., MSS. Photo 1697, correspondence, 1766-74: Henry Strachey to Robert Clive, 29 March 1774, postscript dated, 1 April 1774.

this time; and John Manship (q.v.), who had received North's support in his election to the Direction only a few months previously, but who now seems to have been dropped.

Confronted with such difficulties or doubts about the constant support of dependants, Ministries developing a system of management were obliged to rely on the support of other parties in the Company, if not throughout the course of their administration, at least until their position in the Company could be established. Thus, North relied heavily on Clive's party, particularly in the 1774 election, when it was crucial for the Government to secure firm control in the Direction to ensure the successful implementation of the Regulating Act, and to secure the election of a majority of its candidates in this, the first year of the new system of elections.¹ Henry Strachey, Clive's secretary, wrote of the Ministry's weakness after the instructions for the new supreme council were eventually carried in January 1774:

The principal Effect of this Decision is to prove that Administration cannot carry any Question without the Assistance of your friends. 2

This situation could be exploited by the faction on whom a Ministry depended, as when North was obliged to use all his weight in support of the candidacy of John Carnac, Clive's nominee for the Bombay government.³ This was realised by Pitt

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1. To introduce the new system, 24 directors were to be elected in 1774, 6 retiring after 1 year, 6 after 2 years, 6 after 3 years, and 6 after 4 years; after 1774 6 directors would be elected annually.
 2. E.U.L., MSS. Photo 1697, correspondence, 1766-74: Henry Strachey to Robert Clive, 24 Jany. 1774.
 3. E.U.L., MSS. Photo 1697, correspondence, 1766-74: Henry Strachey to Robert Clive, 16 Decr. 1773.

and Dundas in the next decade, when, having taken advantage of the support of Sullivan to overthrow the Fox-North Coalition, and to secure a favourable majority in the Direction, they were not prepared to support him for the Company chair, considering him too much of a liability through his connections with Company factions hostile to the interests of Government.

Given the draw-backs associated with reliance on dependants, Ministers could utilise subordinates whose activities were more easily controlled, such as departmental employees. Under North and Dundas, Government employees, seekers of Government favour and minor office holders constituted part of the Ministry faction in the General Court. The practice went back to 1763, when, on behalf of the Bute Ministry, John Powell, clerk of the Pay Office, 'split' the balances of Henry Fox, the paymaster-general,¹ while officers of the Custom House and the Post Office were exhorted to take out voting qualifications, in this and in subsequent elections.² The practice seems to have been taken a stage further under Grenville, when an employee of the Customs House, Joseph Creswicke (q.v.), was brought forward as a candidate in 1765 on the Government-backed 'House list'. Close connections with Government were also evinced by former holders of diplomatic posts abroad, namely Thomas Cheap (q.v.), in Madeira, and George Tatem (q.v.), in Sicily, whose election to the Direction seems certainly to have been based on their

1. Sutherland (1), p. 120.

2. Bute MSS., no. 202: 'M^r Todd' of the 'General Post Office' to Charles Jenkinson, 27 Feby. 1763; Jucker, p. 281: Joseph Salvador to Charles Jenkinson, 8 April 1764.

reliability as Government supporters, and perhaps also as reward for services rendered to the Crown.¹

Henry Dundas was widely accused of partiality in bringing fellow-Scots into the Direction, and in appointing other of his countrymen, on whose loyalty he might hope to rely, to posts in India. Such rumours were exaggerated, and certainly in the years up to 1790 which pre-date his period of supreme power in the Company, he consolidated the Government's influence in the Direction by relying mainly on Government supporters from the City. He was aware of the rumours, however, and was consequently circumspect about supporting Scotsmen for the Direction. He wrote in 1787:

... I refused this year to support on my Interest a very good Man who had proposed himself to me as a Candidate for the Direction. I told him fairly that, as Captain Elphinstone [q.v.], the last chosen was my Country man, I could not furnish the handle ... of raising any Objections ... amongst the Proprietors of India Stock. 2

In fact, only three directors of Scots nationality were introduced to the Direction before 1790 by Dundas,³ Cheap, Inglis and Michie (qq.v.) having entered at earlier dates. Common nationality, however, did not necessarily ensure support for Dundas. Of the three, Elphinstone became one of his most virulent opponents.

Besides those directors whose loyalty to Administration was assured by their natural deference to the wishes of

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1. At an earlier date William Rider (q.v.), who seems to have been consul in Madeira, had close connections with Government also.
 2. S.R.O., MS. GD/51/17/69, f. 4: Henry Dundas to Sir Archibald Campbell, 23 March 1787.
 3. Elphinstone, Fraser and Scott (qq.v.).

Government,¹ influence could be exerted on directors through their connections with individual Ministers. This means of control is particularly evident during the North Administration. North himself had close ties with John Roberts (q.v.), his candidate for the City by-elections of 1773 and 1774; Lord Rochford, one of North's secretaries of state, had embraced the interests of George Tatem (q.v.), helping him to obtain a Government contract and a seat in the Direction, and henceforth receiving inside information about proceedings in the Court of Directors; the Lord Chief Justices, Loughborough and Mansfield, directed the conduct of their protégés, Cheap and Moffatt (qq.v.); and John Robinson, the Treasury secretary, carried weight with his relative, John Stables (q.v.), and with Richard Atkinson (q.v.),² all three of whom originated from the north east of England. However, most important in this line of management through the personal contacts of Ministers, was Lord Sandwich, North's First Lord of the Admiralty.

Sandwich made his first, clearly definable, appearance in Company affairs while secretary of state under Grenville, though there are indications that his associations with the

1. E.g. John Harrison and John Michie (qq.v.).

2. Though Atkinson did not become a director until 1784, he was assisting the Ministry party in the Company during the 1770's, and was a close associate of Robinson.

Company may go back many years.¹ He was important to Grenville as a Minister with a personal following in the House, a number of whom could be relied upon, if brought forward as candidates for the Direction, to support the party of Grenville's choice. John Stephenson and Robert Jones (q.q.v.), both in Parliament on Sandwich's interest, were consequently elected directors in 1765. Even by this date, however, as a borough monger in his own right, Sandwich would have been aware of the value of access to East India patronage through a dependant in the Direction. He seems certainly to have been involved behind the scenes to this effect before the election contest of 1763 in support of Clive. Sandwich was prepared to provide John Wilkes, the political satirist, and his intimate friend, with sufficient stock to qualify for the Direction, presumably as a member of Clive's and Rous's 'list'.² Though the scheme came to nothing, it does at least indicate that Sandwich's interest in East India matters was not inspired by, nor was

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1. Sandwich had a long-standing connection with Robert Jones, East India director from 1755. John Purling (q.v.), who was later to join Sandwich's coterie of followers in the Direction, commanded the Sandwich Indiaman between 1752 and 1759. Sandwich may have had shipping connections in the Company by this date, as it was normal for the person, after whom a vessel was named, to be given a share in its ownership (Bute MSS., no. 290: 'Capt. Maitland' to Lord Bute, 19 April 1763).
 2. Charles C. Trench, Portrait of a Patriot (London and Edinburgh, 1962), p. 139. Wilkes, and fellow-satirist, Charles Churchill, were employed by Clive's party at this time to defend Rous in the Press against Sullivan's attack on his handling of the peace negotiations with the Ministry (John Almon (ed.), The Correspondence of the late John Wilkes ... (London, 1805), vol. 1, pp. 180-203; Edward H. Weatherly (ed.), The Correspondence of John Wilkes and Charles Churchill (New York, 1954), p. 50: John Wilkes to Charles Churchill, 25 March [1763]).

dependent upon, the temporary intervention of Grenville.

This fact was confirmed after Grenville left office, when Sandwich, though no longer himself of Ministerial rank, retained his connections with the Direction through his proteges, and enhanced his standing there by having another of his Parliamentary following, George Wombwell (q.v.), elected in 1766. Also in this period, Sir William James (q.v.), until then a partisan of Sullivan, entered the Directorate, and formed a connection with Sandwich which was to develop into a close bond while James was Company chairman, and Sandwich First Lord of the Admiralty.

Under the Duke of Grafton, Sandwich returned to office, now at the Admiralty, an office he had previously occupied from 1748 to 1751. The revival of attempts at Ministerial management under Grafton, the reliance on Sandwich's personal clique of followers to effect this, and the adoption of the same approach by North, ensured that Sandwich was to have a key role in the efforts of Robinson and Jenkinson to control the Company. He undoubtedly increased his personal following in the Direction during these years, the patronage he controlled at the Admiralty and at Trinity House providing lucrative rewards for his supporters. Of proven connection with Sandwich were William Devaynes (q.v.), elected in 1770; John Townson (q.v.), chosen in March 1781; and John Purling (q.v.), who returned to the Direction in 1777 after a six year absence. Sandwich concerned himself with the interests of the Navy agent, Thomas Parry (q.v.), and may likewise have had contacts with John Michie (q.v.), who retained Admiralty connections from his days in the East with Sir George Pocock.

Sandwich may also have been able to carry weight with the writer, John Hawkesworth (q.v.), who was elected in 1773 on the interest of the Barwell family, but who had received a contract worth £6,000 from the Admiralty to produce an edition of Cook's voyages to the South Seas. Sandwich's influence in the Company, and his value to North's managers, was based not only on the number of directors owing him allegiance, but also on their monopoly of the senior positions in the Direction during the years of the North Ministry.¹

Even after the fall of the North Administration, Sandwich continued to carry great weight at East India House, particularly among proprietors with shipping and naval connections. He attempted to obtain Government support for the election of John Pardoe (q.v.) in 1783, but without success, and was approached, in 1786, by the naval connections of Captain William Elphinstone (q.v.) to support his candidacy for the Direction. As late as 1791, he was canvassing on behalf of Captain Stephen Williams (q.v.).

However, despite rumours of Sandwich's paramouncy at East India House,² his influence was subject to the problems

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1. This was true, particularly in the later years of the North Ministry, when James was chairman in 1779, and deputy in 1776, 1778, 1781; Devaynes was chairman in 1780, and deputy in 1777, 1779; and when Wombwell was chairman in 1777, 1778.
 2. Nathaniel Wraxall wrote: 'With consummate ability Lord Sandwich had constructed a species of political citadel within the Ministerial lines which acknowledged hardly any other commander or comptroller than himself. The India House constituted this fortress, of which he was supposed to possess the secret keys. Many of the leading directors, among whom were the two chairmen, looked for orders, as it was commonly believed, not so much to Lord North as to the First Lord of the Admiralty ...' (Quoted in Sutherland (1), pp. 277-278).

of Ministerial management generally. Thus, after the 1774 election, he replied to a request for patronage:

... those who I had the most right to apply to for favour of this kind lost their Election in the late choice of Directors ... there is no one at present in the India Company on whom I have a sufficient claim to entitle me to expect that he will nominate a Writer on my recommendation. 1

Though Sandwich's whole-hearted endeavour for his followers was renowned, his influence was not sufficient to carry the election of candidates who were inimical to the generality of the proprietors. His desire for power in the Direction, and need for Indian patronage, seem to have blinded him to the unsuitability of certain of his followers, or to have rendered him unconcerned as to their aptitude, beyond their loyalty to him. By his insistence, Pardoe (q.v.) was put up for election by the Ministry in 1778, despite Robinson's warnings of his unpopularity, and he was consequently defeated in a straight fight with Sullivan. It was said of Parry, that he would vote 'with the Whim or the Job of the Hour upon all matters',² and of Devaynes, that he was 'perfectly tractable in the line of his own interest, and indifferent to power further than it tends to promote that end'.³ Directors who showed themselves openly to be in the Government's pocket were always liable to be attacked by the Company opposition, or by the more independent-minded proprietors. Sandwich's nominee, George Wombwell, failed to obtain election in 1774 as a result of his

1. Hunter-Blair MSS., no. 9: Lord Sandwich to Keith Stewart, 10 May 1774.

2. C.f. Thomas Parry (q.v.).

3. C.f. William Devaynes (q.v.).

general unpopularity, despite Sandwich's efforts. Similarly, of the four directors who refused to drop their support for the Ministry's call for Hastings's and Barwell's dismissal in 1776,¹ even after the proprietors had revoked the measure, a bystander wondered which had 'fallen lowest in the estimation of the public'.²

By the employment of such methods Ministers in the period 1754 to 1790 came to exercise more control over the directors of the Company, and therefore over their policies. Though Henry Dundas's management of the Direction went further than any previous Government, the real period of his domination lies after 1790. In the late 'eighties, candidates standing on their own interest could still hope to defeat Government nominees.³ It was in the next decade, following splits in the Direction, such as that suffered by the 'East Indians' after Sullivan's death, and following set-backs for the directors' independence, such as the Declaratory Act of 1788 forcing them to accept, and pay for, King's regiments which they felt were unnecessary, with the consequent loss of heart, that Dundas reigned supreme, and when, symbolic of the new era, he was generally held to keep a waiting list of candidates for the Direction.⁴

1. Gregory, Roberts, Nathaniel Smith and Wheler (qq.v.).

2. Gleig, vol. 2, p. 68: Lauchlin Maclean to Warren Hastings, 25 June 1776.

3. E.g. Thomas Pattle (q.v.) in 1787, and John Travers (q.v.) in 1786.

4. Philips (1), p. 5, n. 5.

CHAPTER 6

Some General Conclusions

Study so far of the directors of the East India Company, in the period, 1754 to 1790, has concentrated on their importance in contemporary Company politics, particularly on the factions, or interests, at East India House to which they belonged. The policies adopted by the directors in this period, which witnessed a transformation in the Company's role from that of a purely commercial organisation to that of a political power in the Indian sub-continent, and their success in tackling the problems arising from the Company's new situation, while always involving the political allegiances and obligations of individual directors, might also owe much to their attitudes to the Company's situation in the East, what they felt to be its proper role, and their feelings on the style of government to be instituted by the Company there. Such attitudes to the Indian situation, and the directors' capability in dealing with the Company's changing role, could be influenced by a number of factors, such as their experience of the East, or, conversely, their ignorance of Company concerns outside Leadenhall Street, by less tangible considerations, such as their religious and social outlook, or by their motives for entering the Direction.

The Company had been directed traditionally by men from the financial and mercantile world of the City, concerned only with conducting the Company's trade with the minimum of

expense, and with the maximum profit. This attitude was reflected in the life-style of the Company servants, who, before the wars with the French during the 1740's and 1750's, when they were forced to leave their settlements to defend their position in India, retained what has been called an 'enclave mentality'.¹ They were in India with the sole aim of carrying on the Company's trade, and relations with Indians were limited to the needs of business. Rarely was any attempt made to meet the local population at a social level. This situation was reinforced by the servants' attitude to their employment by the Company. They regarded their appointments as necessary evils, the general aim being to establish a fortune in as short a time as possible, and to return to their home-land before succumbing to the rigours of the climate.

Such traditionally narrow attitudes lingered on in the outlook of City-based directors throughout the period from 1754 to 1790, despite the Company's move away from its former commercial orientation. They refused to accept the new situation thrust upon them by political events in India, with the effects of the decline of the Mogul empire, and of the rivalry of the French, forcing them to take up arms, and assume the responsibilities consequent on their victories. Such happenings in India were outside the experience of directors who had spent all their lives in the City, and whose experience of the Company's role in the East was limited to the supply or purchase of cloth. They found it hard to

1. Frank D. Van Aalst, 'The British View of India, 1750 to 1785' (Univ. of Pennsylvania Ph.D. thesis 1970), p. 344.

understand the political situation in Bengal of the early 1760's, and the effect of the new opportunities for power and rapid gain on the ambitions of servants to whom they paid meagre salaries but from whom they demanded loyalty and dedication to the Company's interests.

However, if the approach to India, and to the Company's situation was narrow, the attitude of the older directors to the 'country powers' with whom the Company had to deal in the carrying on of its trade showed a respect for local institutions of government, and a refusal to become involved in the political situation in India. This policy seems to have been the result of genuine respect for the rights of Indian rulers, and not merely from fear of incurring unnecessary expense by involvement in local wars. Similarly, the directors permitted no interference with the religion of the people with whom they dealt, and later came to rule, and it was not until the mid-1780's that missionaries were allowed to practice. Thomas Rous (q.v.), true to the 'old' tradition of thought, wrote in 1766 of the fortune-making of the Company servants in Bengal which was 'contrary to good faith & honor, thereby depriving the Nabob of his Revenues, [and] is so notoriously unjust & unwarrantable as to require an immediate Remedy'.¹ Similar attitudes were evinced by other directors of the 'old school', such as John Harrison (q.v.), who opposed any attempt of the Company's servants in the East to expand the Company's territories by military activity, since

1. N.L.W., MS. 52, p. 185: Thomas Rous to Robert Clive, 12 Decr. 1766.

'peaceful Plans for India ... [were] agreeable to his System', ¹ or John Michie (q.v.), whose obsessive concern with reducing expenses led to his advocating a cut in the allowances of the Company servants, and to his considering Warren Hastings 'the fittest Man in Europe' by his having 'finally settled the reduction of Expences'.²

The attitude of the older class of directors to the Company's role in the East, and their expectations with regard to the conduct of their servants, influenced their standpoint at the time of the first major clash in the Direction over the Holwell controversy,³ and in subsequent years in Bengal, when a number of servants were dismissed for the means by which they amassed their private fortunes. Despatches to India instructed servants to avoid 'an expensive manner of living, and consider that as the representatives of a body of merchants a decent frugality will be much more in character', and ordered governors to 'carefully attend to the morals and manner of life of all our servants', insisting that they 'regularly attend the divine worship at church every Sunday'.⁴ Though it was natural that a Company's whose trade depended on the good will of local Indian rulers would be careful to regulate the behaviour of its employees, the moral tone of the despatches bespeaks a concern with the spiritual welfare of the servants,

1. C.f. John Harrison (q.v.).

2. Guildhall, MS. 5881, file 2: John Michie to Jonathan Duncan, 29 March 1785.

3. C.f. Chapter 3, part 1.

4. Fort William-India House Correspondence, vol. 1, p. 28: Court letter of 23 Jany. 1754.

and may be due to the influence of elements of the Direction, such as the Huguenots or Dissenters, members of communities whose identities were based on their religious beliefs, and who might be expected to have taken a more serious interest in such matters than their brethren, given also that a number of their sons and nephews were in the Company's service in India.

Attitudes to the Company's role in the East, and to India itself, began to change as more servants returned in the 1750's and 1760's to take up seats in the Direction. The differing outlook of 'East Indians' from Bombay and Bengal has already been touched upon,¹ with older men, like Savage and Sullivan (qq.v.), showing more respect for Indian institutions of government than the Bengal servants of the 1760's, whose experience of the Indian situation was based on a series of palace revolutions, political intrigue and exploitation. Their encounter was with a people now subject to the Company, while the Bombay servants had always felt subordinate to local country powers, such as the Marathas. This coloured the attitudes of Clive and his fellows, with contempt beginning to replace deference. Thus Holwell wrote of Bengal:

Gentoos in general are as degenerate, crafty, superstitious and wicked a people as any race in the known world, if not eminently more so, especially the common run of Brahmins. 2

However, though directors of Bengal experience in these

1. C.f. Chapter 3, part 2.

2. Quoted in Percival Spear, The Nabobs: A Study of the social Life of the English in eighteenth Century India (London, 1963), p. 195, Appendix D.

years, such as Cruttenden or Scrafton (qq.v.), the latter of whom prepared the Bengal despatches, may have allowed their prejudices to influence their conduct as directors, 'East Indians' in general brought to the Direction an interest in India, and in things Indian, which had previously been lacking.¹ Scrafton, Vansittart and Verelst (qq.v.) wrote on events in Bengal in the period, though their motives seem to have stemmed largely from their need to justify their own conduct. The interest of others lay in the revenue system the Company had taken over from the Nawab in Bengal. Such was Richard Becher's (q.v.) concern that his own ideas on the best form of revenue collection be instituted, that he was prepared to overlook his political differences with Philip Francis, and to propose the latter's plan for a permanent settlement to the Direction,² on the lines of that later to be established by Cornwallis.

There is evidence that other directors who had spent some years in the East took an interest in the culture and language of the countries in which they had served. Henry Hadley (q.v.), a supercargo, may have been disposed towards such interests by his previous university training. The library of his son, John Hadley, professor of Chemistry at

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1. So jealousy did the directors maintain their monopoly, and limit the number of interlopers going to India, that most accounts of travels in 17th., and early 18th. century, India are by Frenchmen. The 2nd. edition of Encyclopaedia Britannica in 1785 had to borrow extensively from the writings of the Abbé Raynal for its section on Bengal (Van Aalst, op. cit., p. 3).
 2. I.O.L., MSS. Eur., E15, p. 714: Philip Francis to Richard Becher, 19 July 1777.

Cambridge, was found to contain a large number of Chinese books, undoubtedly inherited from Hadley (q.v.), while another son, George, joined the Company's service in the 1760's, and seems to have taken over his father's Eastern interests by becoming a teacher of oriental languages in later life in London, and producing several introductory works on Persian and Hindi.¹ Of similar taste may have been George Dudley (q.v.), whose will refers to his collection of printed books, manuscripts and ornate furniture.²

Hadley's interest in Chinese books was characteristic of the tastes of his age. The literate public of eighteenth century Britain seem to have been more interested in China than in India, perhaps since lesser known Chinese history and civilisation offered more scope to the contemporary imagination than India, knowledge of which reached Britain through the media of uninterested, and commercially-minded, Company servants. By 1741, the extensive history of China by the Frenchman, Jean Baptiste du Halde, had been translated into English.³ The pre-occupation with China is illustrated by the fact that, of the directors studied, the supercargoes, who spent much of their time on the Chinese mainland, exhibit more oriental tastes and interests than their fellow-directors from the Company's civil branch. Chinese porcelain was collected

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1. A Biographical Account of John Hadley, esq., V.P.R.S., the Inventor of the Quadrant and of his brothers, George and Henry (anon., n.d.), p. 33.
 2. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/1037, f. 503 (1777): Will of George Dudley.
 3. Van Aalst, op. cit., p. 5.

by Hadley,¹ and Thomas Fitzhugh (q.v.), both supercargoes. Such was the latter's passion for Chinaware that a distinctive pattern seems to have been named after him. Captain Timothy Tullie (q.v.), who had spent a number of years in command of vessels trading between Madras and China, refers in his will to his collection of 'China and India ware'.²

A minority of the City-based directors seem to have evinced any literary or cultural interests outside their business concerns which might have predisposed them towards taking a broader view of the Company's situation in the East. Rooke, 'the associate of literary men',³ and Warner (qq.v.) translated works of Classical literature, while Hawkesworth (q.v.) was a member of Johnson's literary circle. Warner, at least, took advantage of the connections he derived from his membership of the East India Direction to indulge his taste in exotic plants, an interest which may have been fairly common. Captain Gilbert Slater, prominent East India ship-owner, who had made a large fortune, applied it to 'botanical purposes, having two persons collecting for him in the East Indies, at the expence of £500 a year'.⁴

Having considered some of the attitudes of the various classes of directors to the East, and the Company's role there, it is also possible to draw certain general conclusions about the abilities of the directors in the period from 1754 to

1. A Biographical Account ..., op. cit., p. 31, n..

2. P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/911, f. 311 (1765): Will of Timothy Tullie.

3. C.f. Giles Rooke (q.v.).

4. G.M., vol. 63, pt. 2 (1793), p. 1054.

1790, and their fitness for office. While the Company's concerns remained predominantly commercial in nature, directors representative of families with traditional interests in the various areas of the Company's trade could hope to cope competently. However, with the move towards the assumption of territorial responsibilities directors with broader experience of the Indian situation were needed. Though this was recognised, and efforts made to bring in men with the desired experience, the political circumstances of the 1760's, and of later years, led to considerations of party loyalty outweighing those of potential value for the Company's administration in the choice of candidates, and to the fitness of a number of directors so elected being called in question. Party leaders were driven to support the election of followers, regardless of their aptitude for the office of director.

Thus, Sullivan was accused by Clive of 'keeping everyone out of the direction who is endowed with more knowledge or would be likely to have more weight and influence than himself'.¹ This was also reflected in Sullivan's later attempts to recover his position of power in the Direction, when he was prepared to unite with the more disreputable sections of the General Court to defeat Clive's majority in the Direction in the elections of the late 1760's. Though Clive himself ostentatiously claimed that he would support for the Direction only 'respectable men noble minded in their Characters &

1. Davies, pp. 342-343: Robert Clive to John Pybus, [c. 1761].

independent in their Fortunes',¹ his real concern was with loyalty, and subservience to his wishes, as was clearly seen on his return from his second period of government in Bengal, when he withdrew his support from those directors who had shown any reluctance to vote for an extension of his jagir.² The competence of the Direction as a whole could also suffer through the ability of proprietorial factions, such as that organised by the Barwell family, to secure the election of nominees, like the totally unsuitable Hawkesworth (q.v.), or through the attempts of Governments to dominate the Company by forcing on the directors their dependants. Thus, during the North Ministry, Lord Sandwich's pre-eminence in Company affairs led to the election of several of his followers, such as Devaynes, Pardoe, Parry, Stephenson, Townson and Wombwell (qq.v.), whose abilities were doubted in various quarters.

Of more potential detriment to the efficiency of the Company's administration was when the choice of chairman, on whose shoulders rested much of the responsibility for the smooth running of the Company, was determined by the same criteria of political connection, and a director of limited ability elevated to an office demanding specific talents and experience. Thus, the weak and self-interested Thomas Rous (q.v.) was supported in the chair by the dominant Clive faction, but only as long as he submitted to Clive's wishes;

1. L.O.L., MSS. Eur., Reel 625, p. 2.

2. The annual revenues of an area of territory in Bengal, presented to Clive by the Mogul as a gift. The legality of Clive's acceptance of the award was held in some doubt, as he thus became a feudatory of the Mogul, as well as being a Company servant.

and the submissive, but unpredictable, John Harrison (q.v.) occupied the chair in 1775 as a result of his deference to the wishes of Government, though little business was carried out during the year through his coolness towards the other directors, as on one occasion, 'when thwarted in a favourite question ... he fell into a passion, left the Court and went next morning to Bath, where he staid a fortnight'.¹ Former Company commanders, whose maritime background and training did little to equip them for the leadership of an organisation with increasing political and territorial responsibilities, could rise to the Company's highest offices by virtue of their City and Ministerial connections. Sir Henry Fletcher (q.v.), chairman in 1782 and 1783, and the close associate of Charles Fox, played an important part in the drafting of the latter's India Bill, though an expert in Company affairs felt that he was 'neither capable of forming accounts himself or of digesting those which are formed by others';² and Nathaniel Smith (q.v.), chairman in 1783, 1784 and 1788, and protégé of Lord Camden, was regarded by Laurence Sullivan as 'an honest but a very stupid Man'.³

In general, however, since much of the directors' time was taken up with approving business already prepared by the Company's permanent staff working in conjunction with the committee leaders, given the existence of a nucleus of hard-working and reliable directors, such as Cheap (q.v.), 'a Man

1. C.f. John Harrison (q.v.).

2. C.f. Sir Henry Fletcher (q.v.).

3. C.f. Nathaniel Smith (q.v.).

of sound plain Parts & good Character who would not sacrifice the interests of the Company',¹ or the 'able, industrious, perfectly correct' Inglis (q.v.),² co-operating with the clerical staff under the guiding hand of an able chairman, the Company could 'carry' a number of directors whose background and capabilities did not equip them for office, and whose contribution to the Company's administration might be negligible beyond signing the previously prepared despatches. When the system broke down, as in 1772, when the chairman and leading directors were implicated in a scheme to conceal the true state of the Company's finances to facilitate speculation in stock, there was little to prevent collapse, and to avoid bankruptcy the directors were obliged to seek Government aid.

The debacle of 1772 led to the Government's attempt to reform the Company, and if the Regulating Act resulted in a threat to the Company's independence through increased Ministerial intervention, Pitt's India Act of 1784, with the establishment of the Board of Control, marked the first major step towards the State's assumption of the Company's responsibilities in the East. Major policy decisions were no longer to be taken by directors influenced by considerations of self-interest or party, but by Henry Dundas, working closely with the Company chairs and the most senior directors in the Secret Committee, the first steps on the road that was to lead to the State's assumption of full power for government in India and the demise of not only the Court of Directors, but also the East India Company.

1. C.f. Thomas Cheap (q.v.).

2. C.f. Hugh Inglis (q.v.).

APPENDIX I

ANNUAL LISTS OF ELECTED DIRECTORS WITH VOTES

(Twenty-four directors were elected each April until 1773, after which date the changes introduced by the Regulating Act came into operation. Following the election of 1774, in which the new system was implemented, six directors were elected annually, sitting for a period of four years, with six returning each year. The chairmen were chosen each April after the election of directors)

1754

Chairman: Roger Drake
Deputy : Richard Chauncy

William Barwell	187	Nathaniel Newnham	187
John Boyd	187	John Payne	187
Henry Crabb Boulton	187	Thomas Phipps	187
Charles Cutts	187	Jones Raymond	187
Roger Drake	187	William Rider	187
Z.P. Fonnereau	187	Whichcott Turner	187
Peter Godfrey	187	Thomas Walpole	187
Charles Gough	187	William Wilberforce	187
Michael Impey	187	William Willy	187
Robert Jones	187	James Winter	187
Stephen Law	187	William Mabbott	186
Nicholas Linwood	187	Richard Chauncy	182

1755

Chairman: Roger Drake
Deputy : Peter Godfrey

William Barwell	201	John Payne	201
Robert Bootle	201	Henry Plant	201
Christopher Burrow	201	Thomas Phipps	201
Henry Crabb Boulton	201	Jones Raymond	201
Sir James Creed	201	Thomas Rous	201
Roger Drake	201	Henry Savage	201
John Dorrien	201	Laurence Sullivan	201
Peter Godfrey	201	Whichcott Turner	201
Charles Gough	201	Timothy Tullie	201
Robert Jones	201	Maximilian Western	201
John Manship	201	John Boyd	200
Nathaniel Newnham	201	Charles Chambers	200

1756

Chairman: Peter Godfrey
Deputy : John Payne

John Boyd	146	William Mabbott	146
Christopher Burrow	146	John Manship	146
Charles Chambers	146	Nathaniel Newnham	146
Henry Crabb Boulton	146	John Payne	146
Sir James Creed	146	Henry Plant	146
Roger Drake	146	Jones Raymond	146
John Dorrien	146	Thomas Rous	146
Peter Godfrey	146	Henry Savage	146
Charles Gough	146	Laurence Sullivan	146
Michael Impey	146	Timothy Tullie	146
Robert Jones	146	Maximilian Western	146
Stephen Law	146	William Barwell	145

1757

Chairman: John Payne
Deputy : Laurence Sullivan

John Browne	158	Thomas Phipps	158
Christopher Burrow	158	John Raymond	158
Charles Chambers	158	Jones Raymond	158
Sir James Creed	158	Thomas Rous	158
John Dorrien	158	Henry Savage	158
George Dudley	158	Laurence Sullivan	158
Peter Godfrey	158	Timothy Tullie	158
Charles Gough	158	Maximilian Western	158
Henry Hadley	158	John Manship	157
Michael Impey	158	Thomas Saunders	157
John Payne	158	George Steevens	157
Henry Plant	158	Robert Jones	118

1758

Chairman: Laurence Sullivan
Deputy : Roger Drake

William Barwell	442	Charles Cutts	249
Christopher Burrow	439	Giles Rooke	249
John Browne	438	Thomas Phipps	245
John Boyd	435	Henry Savage	244
John Dorrien	435	Henry Plant	240
John Raymond	433	Henry Hadley	236
George Steevens	429	Timothy Tullie	234
Frederick Pigou	426	George Dudley	233
Laurence Sullivan	423	John Manship	230
Roger Drake	417	Sir James Creed	229
Henry Crabb Boulton	385	Nathaniel Newnham	226
Thomas Rous	266	John Harrison	225

1759

Chairman: Peter Godfrey
Deputy : John Boyd

William Barwell	251	Richard Gildart	250
Christopher Baron	251	Samuel Harrison	250
John Browne	251	Thomas Waters	250
Charles Cutts	251	Richard Smith	249
George Dudley	251	Henry Crabb Boulton	247
Charles Gough	251	Peter Godfrey	247
Henry Hadley	251	Fitz. Barrington	245
John Harrison	251	Richard Seward	245
Frederick Pigou	251	Bourchier Walton	245
John Raymond	251	Giles Rooke	243
Jacob Bosanquet	250	William Thornton	242
John Boyd	250	George Steevens	194

1760

Chairman: Laurence Sullivan
Deputy : Thomas Rous

John Boyd	298	John Harrison	297
John Browne	298	Richard Smith	297
George Dudley	298	Bourchier Walton	297
Henry Hadley	298	Christopher Burrow	296
Frederick Pigou	298	Henry Savage	296
John Raymond	298	Laurence Sullivan	296
Thomas Rous	298	Timothy Tullie	294
Thomas Waters	298	Henry C. Boulton	293
Charles Cutts	297	Giles Rooke	289
John Dorrien	297	George Amyand	279
Peter Godfrey	297	George Steevens	217
Charles Gough	297	Richard Warner	191

1761

Chairman: Laurence Sullivan
Deputy : Thomas Rous

Fitz. Barrington	209	Henry Savage	208
Christopher Baron	209	Bourchier Walton	208
Christopher Burrow	209	William Barwell	207
Charles Cutts	209	John Boyd	207
Charles Gough	209	Sir James Creed	207
Frederick Pigou	209	Richard Smith	207
Richard Seward	209	Richard Warner	207
Timothy Tullie	209	Giles Rooke	206
Thomas Waters	209	Thomas Rous	206
John Dorrien	208	William Thornton	206
John Harrison	208	Laurence Sullivan	206
Samuel Harrison	208	Henry C. Boulton	204

1762

Chairman: Thomas Rous
Deputy : John Dorrien

William Barwell	176	William Snell	176
Christopher Baron	176	Richard Smith	176
Fitz. Barrington	176	William Thornton	176
John Browne	176	Timothy Tullie	176
John Dorrien	176	Richard Warner	176
George Dudley	176	Thomas Waters	176
Charles Gough	176	Edward Ward	176
Henry Hadley	176	Bourchier Walton	176
Samuel Harrison	176	William Webber	176
Thomas Rous	176	Robert Burrow	175
Henry Savage	176	John Manship	175
Richard Seward	176	George Steevens	174

1763

Chairman: John Dorrien
Deputy : Laurence Sullivan

Christopher Baron	1240	William Snell	1191
William Barwell	1239	Charles Chambers	1176
John Browne	1237	John Harrison	796
Richard Seward	1237	Frederick Pigou	774
John Manship	1233	Laurence Sullivan	765
John Boyd	1224	John Dorrien	751
Robert Burrow	1223	Giles Rooke	735
William Webber	1216	Richard Warner	699
Henry Hadley	1214	John Purling	695
Charles Cutts	1212	George Amyand	693
William Thornton	1209	Timothy Tullie	691
Henry C. Boulton	1206	George Steevens	662

1764

Chairman: Thomas Rous
Deputy : Henry C. Boulton

John Harrison	1174	Thomas Rous	642
John Boyd	1173	William Snell	637
Henry Hadley	1162	Frederick Pigou	634
John Purling	1159	Robert Burrow	630
William Barwell	1157	Henry Savage	620
William Webber	1157	Giles Rooke	618
Charles Chambers	1152	Peter Du Cane	614
Christopher Baron	1147	William Thornton	614
John Manship	1131	John Roberts	606
Charles Cutts	1117	Richard Smith	604
George Dudley	1105	Laurence Sullivan	604
Henry C. Boulton	1094	George Cuming	604

1765

Chairman: Henry C. Boulton
Deputy : George Dudley

E.H. Cruttenden	1253	George Cuming	884
John Harrison	1249	Josias Du Pre	881
Frederick Pigou	1226	Henry Hadley	878
Thomas Rous	1223	Fitz. Barrington	874
William Webber	1217	Thomas Saunders	861
John Purling	1209	Charles Cutts	860
Charles Chambers	1170	John Stephenson	849
John Manship	910	Joseph Creswicke	848
John Roberts	910	Luke Scrafton	840
Henry C. Boulton	901	Edward Wheler	827
George Dudley	887	Robert Jones	823
Henry Savage	885	John Pardoe	

1766

Chairman: George Dudley
Deputy : Thomas Rous

John Harrison	727	Thomas Rous	533
George Cuming	721	George Dudley	512
E.H. Cruttenden	721	John Roberts	508
Frederick Pigou	721	Christopher Baron	507
Peter Du Cane	719	William Barwell	505
Josias Du Pre	717	John Purling	505
Charles Chambers	714	Henry Savage	496
John Stephenson	712	Fitz. Barrington	494
Thomas Saunders	711	Charles Cutts	491
Edward Wheler	707	Luke Scrafton	490
Joseph Creswicke	707	John Pardoe	480
George Wombwell	664	Robert Jones	458

1767

Chairman: Thomas Rous
Deputy : Thomas Saunders

E.H. Cruttenden	889	Henry Savage	596
William Snell	876	Thomas Saunders	593
George Cuming	863	Fitz. Barrington	587
Robert Jones	844	Christopher Baron	587
Thomas Rous	652	Benjamin Booth	586
John Roberts	627	John Stephenson	583
John Manship	623	Sir James Cockburn	580
Sir George Colebrooke	619	Henry C. Boulton	576
George Dudley	612	Luke Scrafton	571
Peregrine Cust	610	Joseph Creswicke	566
Peter Du Cane	607	George Wombwell	540
Edward Wheler	603	John Pardoe	519

1768

Chairman: Henry C. Boulton
Deputy : Sir George Colebrooke

William Snell	615	Robert Jones	579
E.H. Cruttenden	611	George Wombwell	571
Frederick Pigou	611	William James	562
Peter Du Cane	610	John Woodhouse	553
John Stephenson	607	Luke Scrafton	438
John Townson	605	Richard Bosanquet	433
John Harrison	605	Henry C. Boulton	430
Edward Wheler	601	Peregrine Cust	430
Benjamin Booth	599	Daniel Wier	422
Charles Chambers	597	Sir James Cockburn	419
John Purling	597	Sir George Colebrooke	397
Joseph Creswicke	594	John Pardoe	394

1769

Chairman: Sir George Colebrooke
Deputy : Peregrine Cust

George Cuming	1459	Richard Bosanquet	812
William Snell	1446	John Motteux	812
William James	1409	Henry C. Boulton	809
John Woodhouse	1394	Sir George Colebrooke	806
Daniel Wier	1386	John Purling	803
John Manship	921	John Harrison	800
Henry Vansittart	897	Frederick Pigou	799
Charles Boddam	887	Peter Du Cane	792
Laurence Sullivan	859	George Dempster	781
Henry Fletcher	851	Robert Gregory	778
John Roberts	833	W.G. Freeman	777
Peregrine Cust	814	Benjamin Booth	775

1770

Chairman: Sir George Colebrooke
Deputy : John Purling

John Harrison	1448	E.H. Cruttenden	922
John Manship	1431	William Devaynes	916
George Cuming	1422	George Dudley	907
Frederick Pigou	1420	Henry Savage	900
John Purling	1402	John Michie	886
Edward Wheler	1385	Benjamin Booth	882
William James	1362	Sir James Cockburn	875
Henry C. Boulton	1348	Peter Lascelles	874
John Woodhouse	1334	John Roberts	857
Robert Gregory	952	Thomas Rous	855
Daniel Wier	943	Joseph Hurlock	840
Sir George Colebrooke	938	Charles Chambers, jr.	827

1771

Chairman: John Purling
Deputy : George Dudley

Peter Du Cane	717	Joseph Hurlock	713
John Harrison	717	John Manship	713
John Roberts	717	Harry Verelst	713
Henry Savage	717	Richard Bosanquet	710
Edward Wheler	717	Joshua Smith	710
Robert Gregory	716	E.H. Cruttenden	709
George Cuming	715	Thomas Rous	704
George Dudley	715	John Michie	703
Henry Fletcher	715	Sir James Cockburn	681
Daniel Wier	715	William James	675
John Woodhouse	715	John Purling	657
Frederick Pigou	714	Laurence Sullivan	602

1772

Chairman: Sir George Colebrooke
Deputy : Laurence Sullivan

Thomas Rumbold	999	Peter Du Cane	993
Peter Lascelles	998	John Manship	992
William Devaynes	997	John Michie	992
Robert Gregory	997	Charles Boddam	991
John Roberts	997	Henry C. Boulton	959
Edward Wheler	997	Richard Bosanquet	948
Benjamin Booth	996	Laurence Sullivan	942
Henry Fletcher	996	George Tatem	937
Henry Savage	996	Thomas Dethick	928
Joseph Hurlock	995	Sir James Cockburn	896
George Cuming	994	Sir George Colebrooke	891
Joshua Smith	994	George Dempster	587

1773

Chairman: Henry C. Boulton (d. Octr. 1773)
Deputy : Edward Wheler (Chairman from Octr.)

Peter Lascelles	1089	Charles Chambers, jr.	1045
Henry Savage	1087	Richard Hall	1042
Peter Du Cane	1085	John Michie	1027
Henry Fletcher	1085	George Tatem	888
Edward Wheler	1084	John Harrison	702
William Devaynes	1081	Henry C. Boulton	700
Frederick Pigou	1077	Thomas B. Rous	598
Benjamin Booth	1066	John Smith (-Burgess)	595
Joseph Hurlock	1066	Samuel Peach	588
John Woodhouse	1062	Joseph Sparkes	572
William James	1060	John Hawkesworth	545
Charles Boddam	1051	(d. Novr. 1773)	
		Daniel Wier	539

(John Manship and George Cuming were elected in Decr. 1773)

1774

Chairman: Edward Wheler
Deputy : John Harrison

One Year Class:

John Smith (-Burgess)	767
Samuel Peach	730
Richard Hall	576
Thomas B. Rous	531
George Tatem	501
Joseph Sparkes	498

Two Year Class:

Peter Lascelles	594
William Devaynes	570
John Michie	546
Charles Boddam	519
Henry Fletcher	450
Nathaniel Smith	452

Three Year Class:

Edward Wheler	623
William James	560
W.G. Freeman	521
Daniel Wier	508
John Woodhouse	506
John Stables	493

Four Year Class:

Henry Savage	615
James Moffatt	577
John Manship	560
George Cuming	517
John Harrison	511
Frederick Pigou	509

1775

Chairman: John Harrison
Deputy : John Roberts

Robert Gregory	695	Thomas Rumbold	472
John Roberts	495	Benjamin Booth	459
George Wombwell	476	Richard Becher	454

1776

Chairman: John Roberts
Deputy : William James

Richard Hall	538	John Smith (-Burgess)	535
Samuel Peach	537	George Tatem	530
Joseph Sparkes	537	Thomas B. Rous	528

1777

Chairman: George Wombwell
Deputy : William Devaynes

Charles Boddam	577	Nathaniel Smith	574
Henry Fletcher	576	John Michie	572
William Devaynes	575	John Purling	574

(Thomas Rumbold resigned, and was replaced in August by Thomas Cheap)

1778

Chairman: George Wombwell
Deputy : William James

William James	846	John Woodhouse	829
W.G. Freeman	838	Laurence Sullivan	491
John Stables	831	William Mills	457

1779

Chairman: Sir William James
Deputy : William Devaynes

George Cuming	899	Henry Savage	868
James Moffatt	884	Francis Baring	556
John Harrison	880	John Manship	548

1780

Chairman: William Devaynes
Deputy : Laurence Sullivan

Robert Gregory	937	Lionell Darell	596
Richard Becher	817	Sir George Wombwell	556
Benjamin Booth	771	Thomas Cheap	547

(John Roberts replaced Wombwell in Novr. 1780, and John Townson replaced Becher in March 1781)

1781

Chairman: Laurence Sullivan
Deputy : Sir William James

Joseph Sparkes	855	George Tatem	724
Richard Hall	839	John Hunter	580
John Smith (-Burgess)	797	Samuel Peach	528

(William Bensley and Thomas Parry replaced Samuel Peach and John Stables in October 1781)

1782

Chairman: Robert Gregory
Deputy : Henry Fletcher

Charles Boddam	752	Stephen Lushington	634
Henry Fletcher	704	Nathaniel Smith	616
Jacob Wilkinson	656	William Devaynes	491

(On Gregory's death, Fletcher became chairman in July 1782, and Nathaniel Smith became deputy)

1783

Chairman: Sir Henry Fletcher
Deputy : Nathaniel Smith

John Michie	644	Sir William James	529
William Mills	556	Thomas Parry	524
Laurence Sullivan	540	Samuel Smith	507

(Following resignation of Wilkinson and Fletcher, and death of James, Atkinson, Johnstone and Woodhouse were chosen. Nathaniel Smith became chairman, and Devaynes his deputy)

1784

Chairman: Nathaniel Smith
Deputy : William Devaynes

John Manship	778	Hugh Inglis	567
Francis Baring	621	John Motteux	470
Edmund Boehm	597	Paul Le Mesurier	469

(James Moffatt replaced Charles Boddam in December 1784)

1785

Chairman: William Devaynes
Deputy : Nathaniel Smith

George Cuming	690	Jacob Bosanquet	671
John Roberts	690	John Townson	649
Lionel Darell	675	Thomas Cheap	617

(Thomas Fitzhugh and Charles Mills replaced Richard Atkinson and William Mills in Augt. 1785, and Abraham Robarts replaced Sullivan in March 1786)

1786

Chairman: John Michie
Deputy : John Motteux

Joseph Sparkes	755	John Hunter	648
Richard Hall	754	John Smith (-Burgess)	647
William Bensley	746	John Travers	628

(George Tatem replaced Samuel Smith in July 1786, and William Elphinstone replaced Richard Hall in Decr. 1786)

1787

Chairman: John Motteux
Deputy : Nathaniel Smith

James Moffatt	744	Nathaniel Smith	673
William Devaynes	729	Thomas Fitzhugh	663
Stephen Lushington	728	Thomas Pattle	558

(Robert Thornton replaced George Cuming in December 1787)

1788

Chairman: Nathaniel Smith
Deputy : John Michie

Abraham Robarts	1045	Thomas Parry	856
John Michie	1021	John Woodhouse	830
George Tatem	978	Charles Mills	793

(Following Michie's death, William Devaynes became deputy, and David Scott entered the Direction in December 1788)

1789

Chairman: William Devaynes
Deputy : Stephen Lushington

Francis Baring	1043	William Money	886
John Manship	990	Paul Le Mesurier	872
Hugh Inglis	912	T.T. Metcalfe	734

(Stephen Williams replaced Joseph Sparkes in March 1790)

1790

Chairman: Stephen Lushington
Deputy : William Devaynes

Jacob Bosanquet	1152	Thomas Cheap	1066
John Roberts	1094	Robert Thornton	1063
Lionel Darell	1091	John Townson	1033

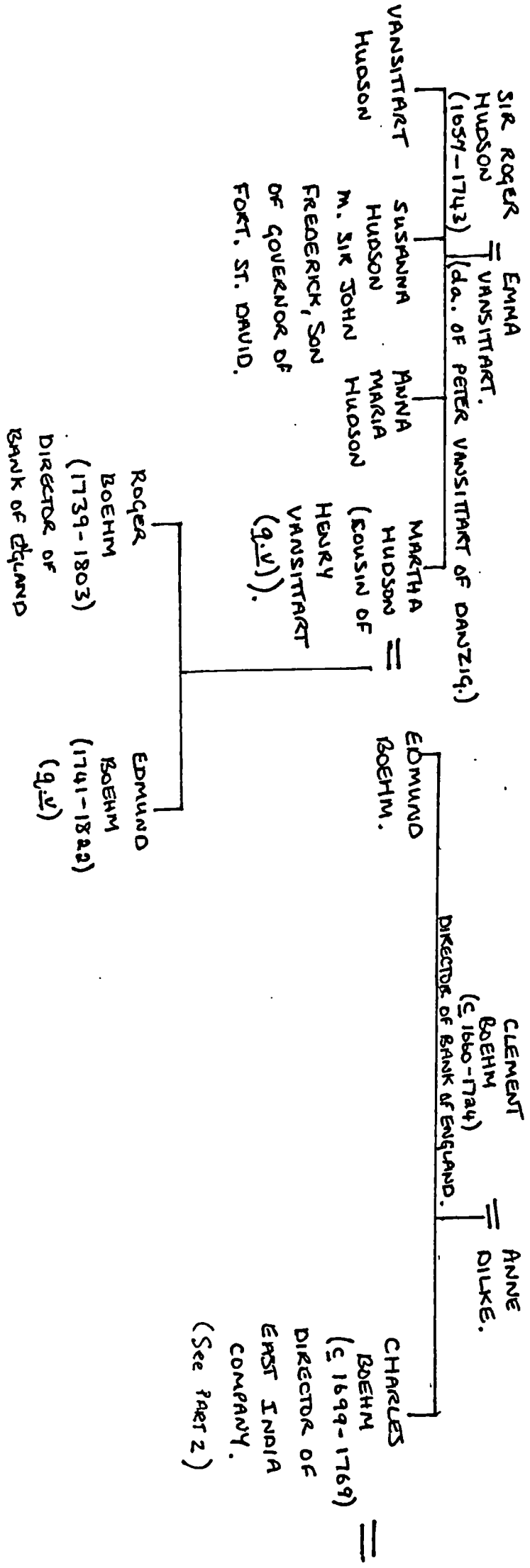
(Walter Ewer replaced James Moffatt in December 1790, and Simon Fraser replaced John Woodhouse in Feby. 1791)

APPENDIX 2

SELECTED FAMILY PEDIGREES

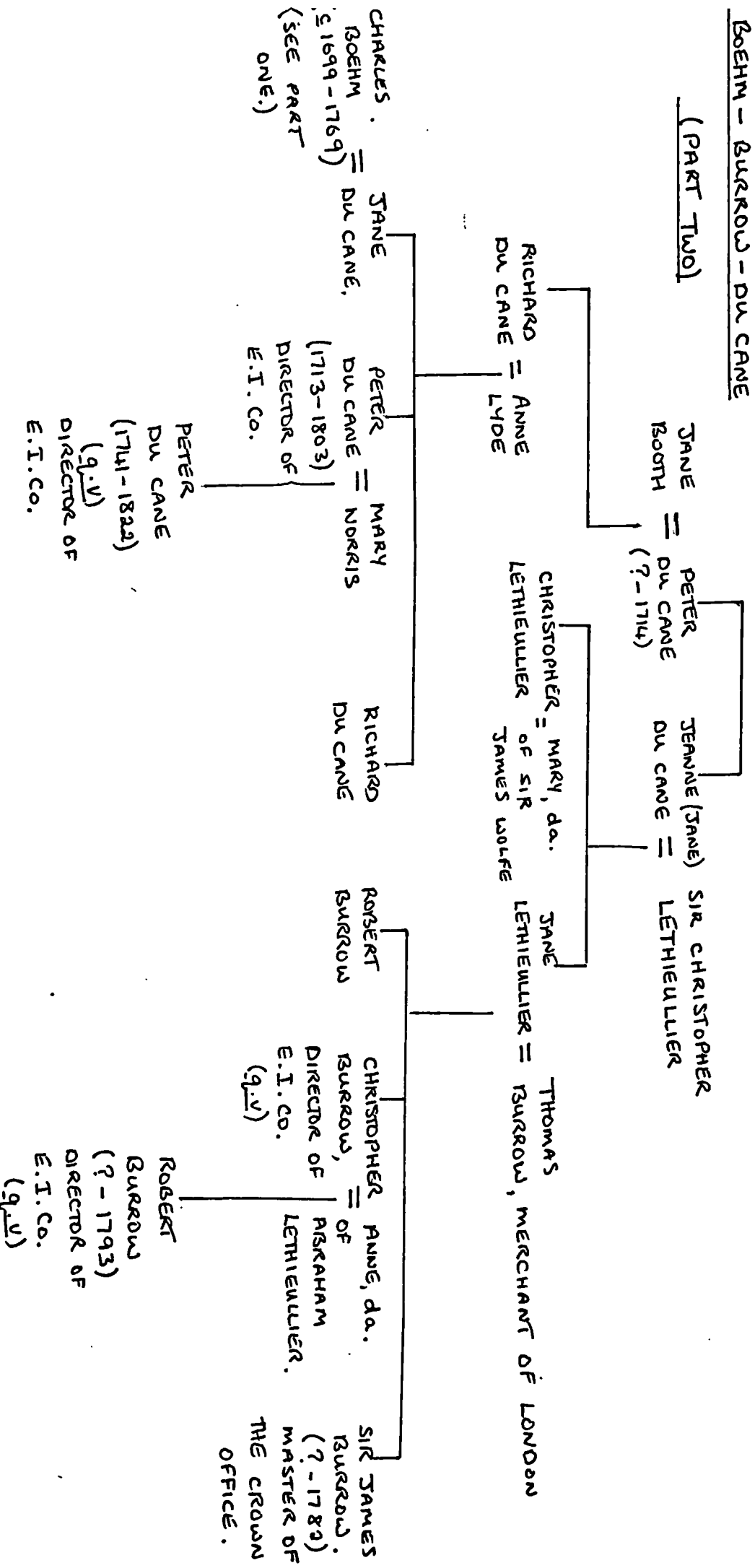
(No attempt has been made to include every family member in the following pedigrees, through lack of space, and through the obscurity of background of many of the families. Members of particular families have not been arranged in order of birth, but have been set out to illustrate most conveniently the inter-connection of families in the East India Company world)

BOEHM - BURROW - DU CAVE. (INCLUDING EDMUND BOEHM, CHRISTOPHER BURROW, ROBERT BURROW AND PETER DU CAVE (q.v.))
 (PART ONE.)



BOEHM - BURROW - DU CANE

(PART TWO)



(Page 474)

SOURCES : DU CANE ;

WAGNER ABSTRACTS.

JOHN GOUGH = (2) BRIDGET, da.
(? - 1665)
OF OLDFALLINGS,
STAFFORDSHIRE.

SIR RICHARD GOUGH, M.P.
(1655-1728)
= ANNE, da.
OF NICHOLAS
CRISPE OF
LONDON.
E.I. COMMANDER
AND DIRECTOR, 1713-20.

SIR HENRY GOUGH
(1649-1724)
= MARY, ELD. DA. OF
SIR EDWARD LITTLETON

OF PERRY BARR,
STAFFORDSHIRE.

6th. SON.
HENRY GOUGH, M.P.
(1681-1751)
E.I. COMMANDER
AND DIRECTOR,
1730-51.

7th. SON.

RICHARD GOUGH.
(b. 1682)
DIED IN INDIA BEFORE
1713 IN COMMAND OF THE
TRADING VESSEL, SEVERN.

11th. SON.

CHARLES GOUGH (q.v.)
(1693-1774)
E.I. COMMANDER
AND DIRECTOR

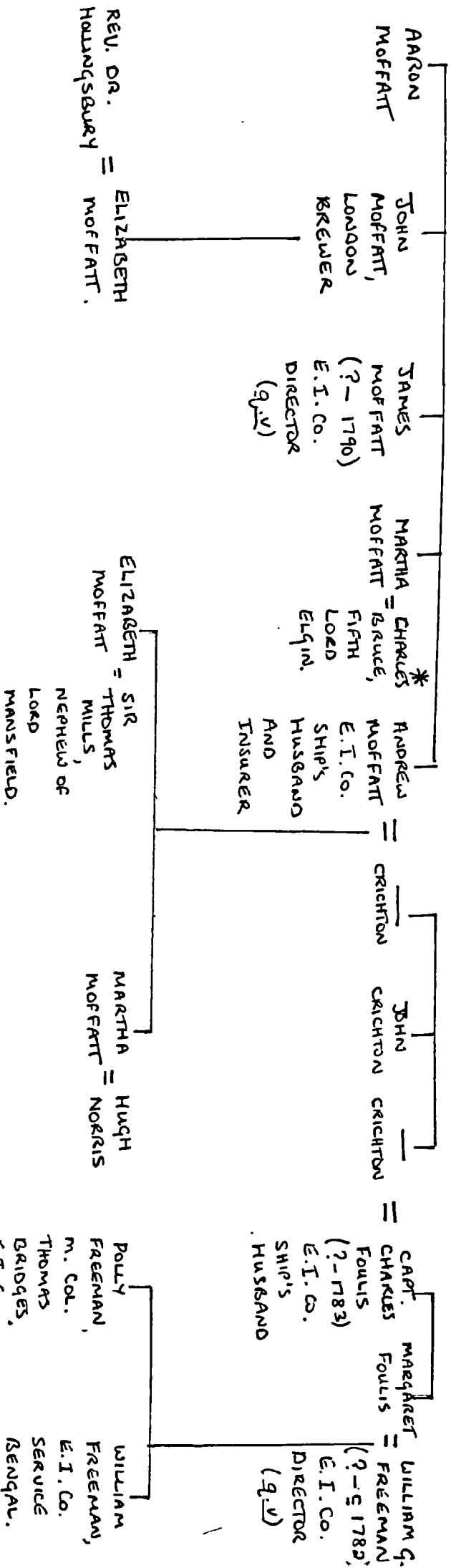
SIR HENRY - BARBARA,
GOUGH, M.P. da. OF
(1709-1774) REYNOLDS.
E.I. DIRECTOR,
1735-51. CALTHORPE.

SIR HENRY GOUGH
(cf. BARON CALTHORPE,
15th. JUNE 1796)

(PAGE 476)

SOURCES : B. HIST. C., VOL. 2, PP. 392-397 ;
B. P. B., PP. 452-453 ;
SEDGWICK, VOL. 2 P. 73

FOULIS - FREEMAN - MOFFATT, (INCLUDING W.G. FREEMAN AND JAMES MOFFATT. (q.v.)).



* (THOUGH THIS IS IN CONTRADICTION TO S.P., VOLUME THREE P. 491.)

SOURCES : WILLS OF CHARLES FOULIS, W.G. FREEMAN, ANDREW MOFFATT AND JAMES MOFFATT.

(page 477).

LAW - LUSHINGTON - RUMBOLD (INCLUDING STEPHEN LUSHINGTON AND THOMAS RUMBOLD (g.g.v)).

STEPHEN LUSHINGTON of SITTINGBOURNE by his first wife, CATHERINE GODFREY.

BY HIS SECOND WIFE, JANE PETLEY

REV. EDMUND LAW, MARY = CHRISTIAN.
BISHOP OF CARLISLE

THOMAS GODFREY LUSHINGTON

REV. HENRY = MARY ALTHAM.
LUSHINGTON, VICAR OF EASTBOURNE

REV. JAMES STEPHEN LUSHINGTON, PREBENDARY OF CARLISLE

SIR STEPHEN LUSHINGTON (1744-1807) E.I. Co. DIRECTOR. (g.v)

WILLIAM LUSHINGTON E.I. Co. BENGAL SERVICE

HENRY LUSHINGTON E.I. Co. BENGAL SERVICE

CHARLOTTE LUSHINGTON M. RALPH LEYCESTER E.I. Co. BENGAL SERVICE.

EDWARD LAW (1750-1818) FIRST BARON ELLENBOROUGH.
THOMAS LAW (1756-1834) E.I. Co. SERVICE.
EWAN LAW E.I. Co. SERVICE
JONATHAN LAW = SIR THOMAS RUMBOLD, (1736-1791) E.I. Co. DIRECTOR. (g.v)
MARY LAW =

BENGAL SERVICE, AND DA. OF WILLIAM MARKHAM, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

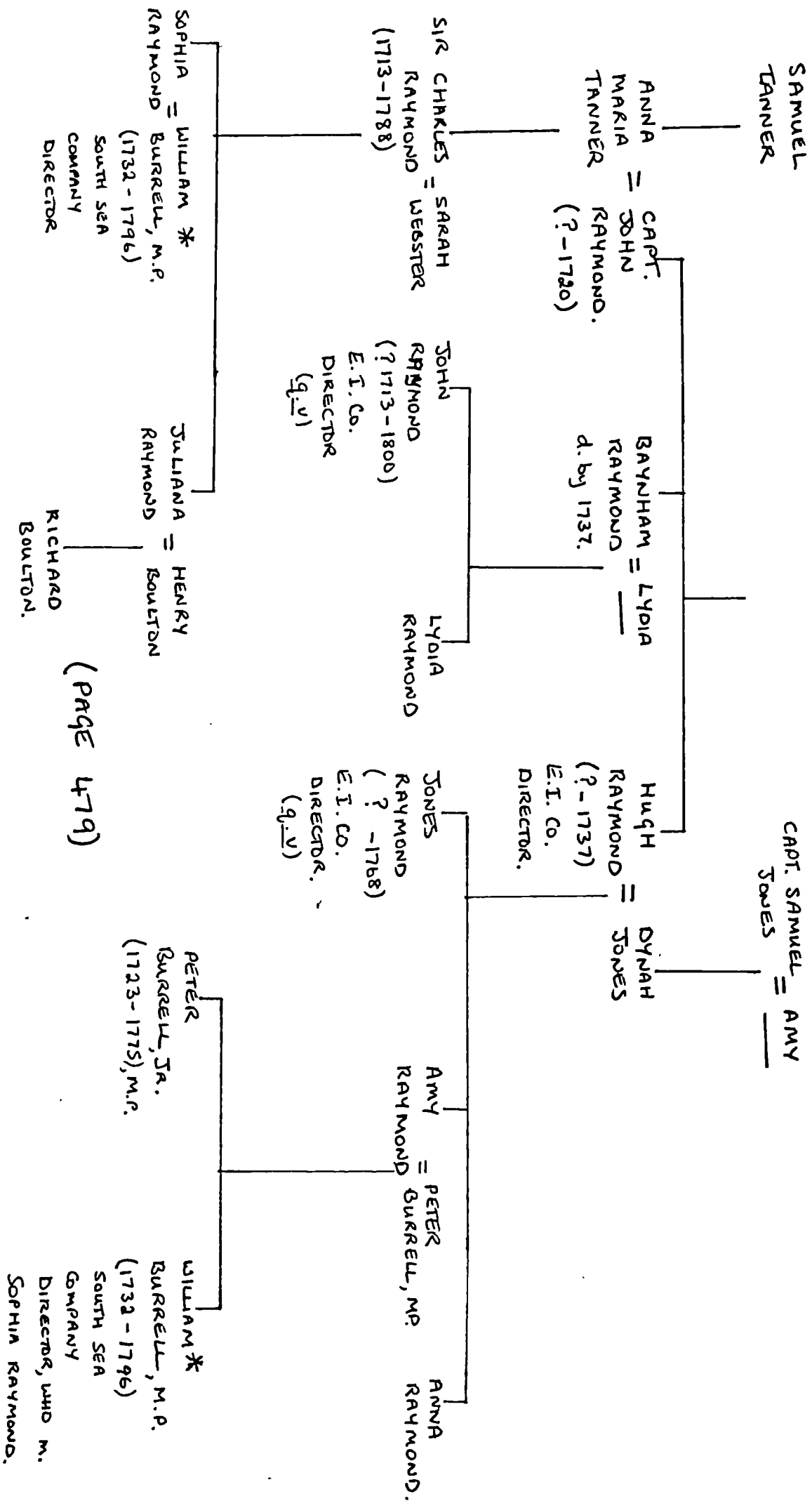
EDWARD LAW FIRST EARL OF ELLENBOROUGH, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA, 1841-1844

(PAGE 478)

SOURCES : B. Hist. Comm., VOL. 2, PP. 185-186 ;

B. P. B., P. 928 ;

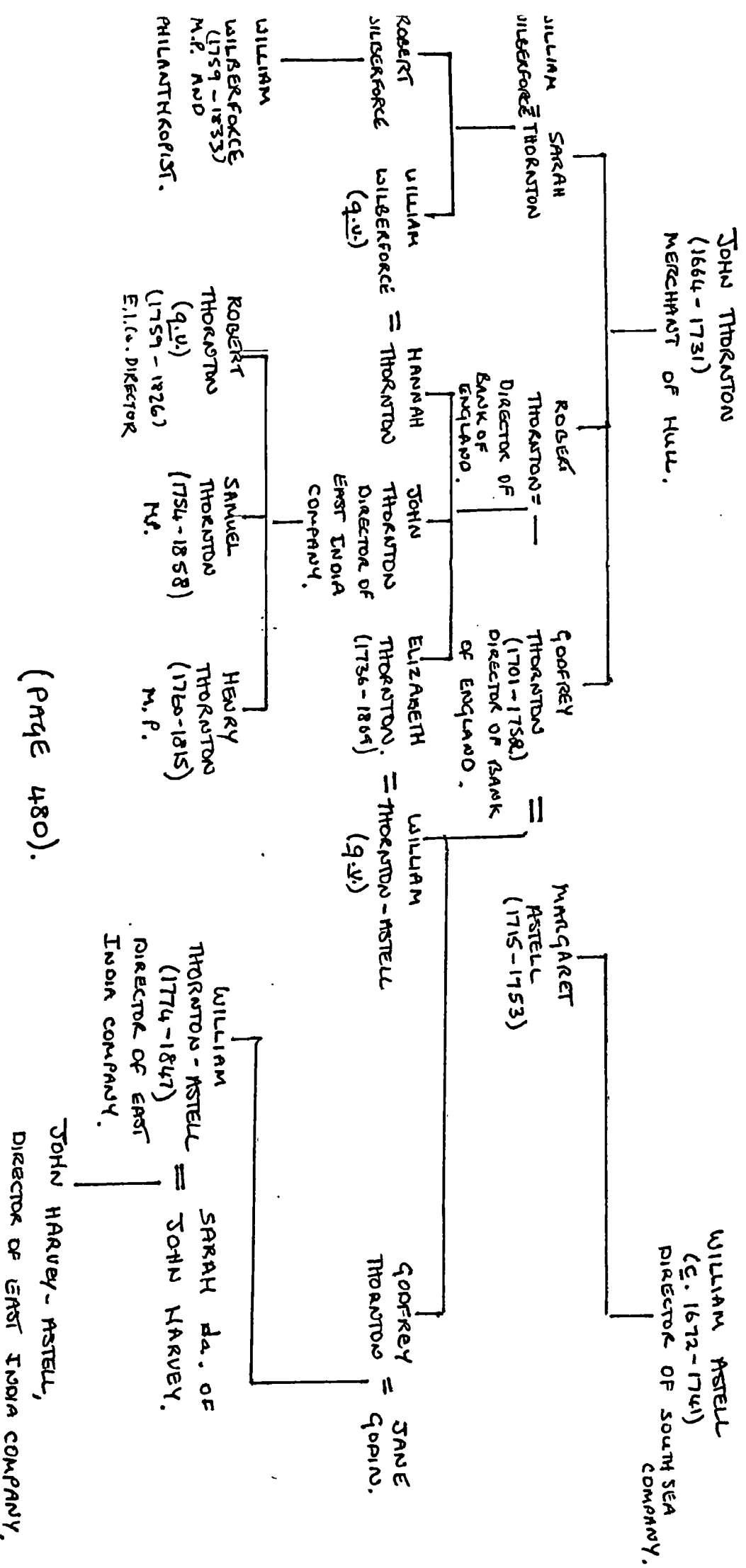
RAYMOND. (INCLUDING JOHN RAYMOND AND JONES RAYMOND. (g.g.v))



(PAGE 479)

SOURCES : WILLS OF CHARLES, HUGH, JOHN AND JONES RAYMOND.

THORNTON - WILBERFORCE, (INCLUDING WILLIAM THORNTON-ASTELL, ROBERT THORNTON AND WILLIAM WILBERFORCE (q.v.))

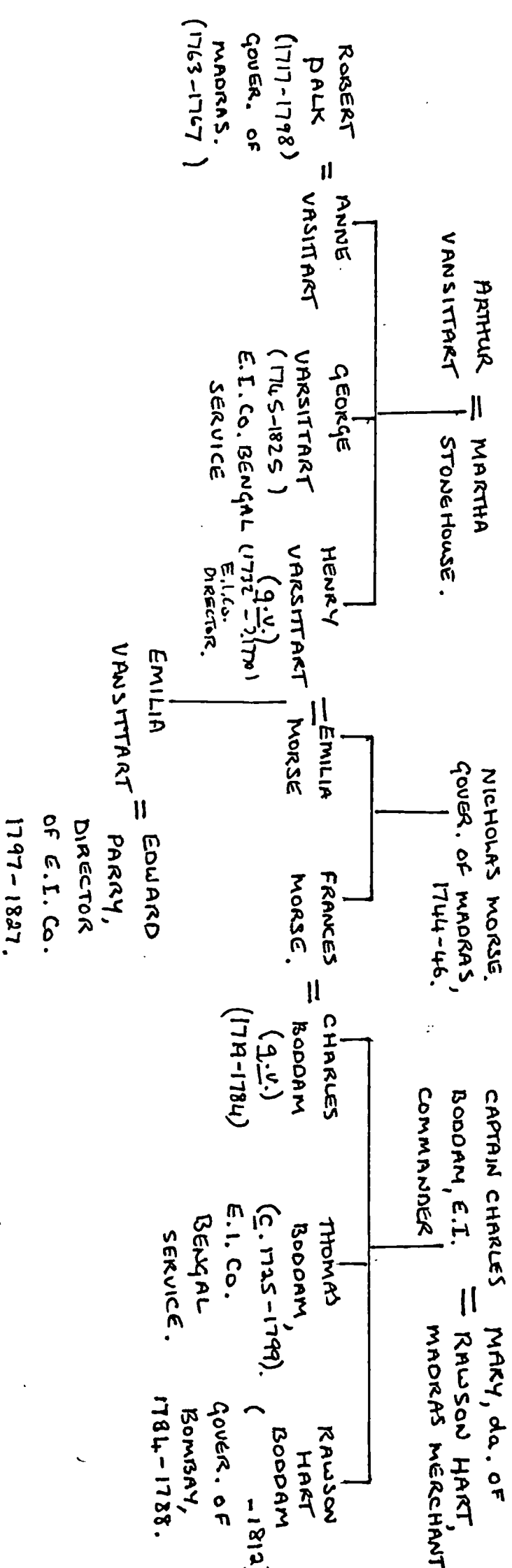


Sources : CUSANUS vol. 2, pt. 2, pp 14-15;

NAMIER AND BROOKE, vol. 3, p.p 524-525.

B. HIST. C., vol. 1, p.p. 540-541 ; B.L.G.

VANSITTART - BODDAM. (INCLUDING CHARLES BODDAM, HENRY VANSITTART (q.v.) AND EDWARD PARRY, EAST INDIA COMPANY DIRECTOR.



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MSS. 709024-41.

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L/AG/14/5/10-21.

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652, 669.

N/1/1.

N/2/1.

N/3/1.

O/5/29.

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MSS. Eur. E/231.	Letters of Robert Clive, 1759-1766.
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MSS. Eur. F/89.	Papers of William Fullerton Elphinstone (<u>q.v.</u>).
MSS. Eur. G/37.	Papers of Robert Clive.
MSS. Eur. Photo 63.	Correspondence of George (<u>q.v.</u>), John and William Johnstone (from originals in the Huntington Library, California).
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Home Misc. Ser. 106.	Correspondence of Sir John Macpherson and Richard Atkinson (<u>q.v.</u>), 1782.
Home Misc. Ser. 764.	Annual lists of elected Company directors from 1709; and lists of governors and councillors in Bengal, Bombay and Madras.
Home Misc. Ser. 808-809.	Typed copies of selected letters of Robert Clive.

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DECLARATION OF CANDIDATE

I, the undersigned candidate for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, declare that this thesis, entitled: 'The Directors of the East India Company, 1754-1790', has been composed by me, and that the work is mine alone.

.....
James G. Parker

August 1977